

~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Liaison

September 8, 1967

1 - Mr. R. H. Horner

MEETING OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA AT  
MONTREAL, CANADA, IN AUGUST, 1967

The following information was supplied by sources  
which have furnished reliable information in the past.

Leaders of the Communist Party of Canada and the  
Communist Party, USA, met in Montreal, Canada, during the  
latter part of August, 1967. William Kashtan, General  
Secretary, Communist Party of Canada, and Gus Hall, General  
Secretary, Communist Party, USA, led the discussions in  
which other leaders of both Parties participated. The  
essence of these discussions was as follows.

### International Situation

Both Parties agreed that there is a pressing  
need for unity within the world communist movement. To  
achieve this unity, an international meeting of communist  
parties is imperative. Such a meeting should be held  
despite the fact that the Communist Party of China will  
probably not attend. One or two parties should not be  
allowed to veto the needs of the world communist move-  
ment. Hall stated that unless such questions as war and  
peace, support of national liberation movements, and so  
forth are discussed, the result will be more splitting  
of the international communist movement. E B I

Hall reported that the Communist Party, USA, had  
previously been informed that the Communist Party of Italy  
would not attend such an international meeting. He said  
that now he understands the Italians will not sponsor such  
an international gathering, but that if one is held, they

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091 64-915

RHH:est

(11)

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE FOUR.

REC-35

Part 9-8-67

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

67 SEP 28 1967

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

MEETING OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA AT  
MONTREAL, CANADA, IN AUGUST, 1967

will attend. Hall said that he had heard the Communist Parties of North and South Vietnam would participate in such a conference, particularly if the situation in Vietnam is on the agenda.

#### Middle East Situation

Both the Communist Party of Canada and the Communist Party, USA, have suffered as a result of the Soviet Union's stand which condemns Israel as the aggressor and tool of American imperialism. Jewish elements in both Parties have refused to accept this position. Some of this opposition is beginning to accept the Soviet position.

Neither the Communist Party of Canada nor the Communist Party, USA, intends to expel anyone over the position they have taken regarding the situation in the Middle East.

Hall and Kashtan stated they had had plans to hold conferences on the Jewish problem, but that in view of the Middle East crisis, every effort will be made to avoid holding them.

Although the Israeli-Arabian conflict placed great strains on the peace movement, it has not materially affected the opposition to United States policy in Vietnam.

#### Latin American Situation

Both the Communist Party of Canada and the Communist Party, USA, generally disagreed with the attacks made by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro on other communist parties. In discussing Castro, Hall gave some examples of the treatment which had been received by the Communist Party, USA, at the hands of the Cubans. He said his

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

- 2 -

~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

MEETING OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA AT  
MONTREAL, CANADA, IN AUGUST, 1967

Party was supposed to send two delegates to the Conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity held in Havana, Cuba, beginning July 31, 1967. One of these delegates was refused admittance to Cuba, while the other had to travel to Havana by way of Moscow, Russia. Upon his arrival in Havana, he was denied the opportunity to play any role in the Conference and, as a matter of fact, was refused an opportunity to speak at the meeting in the name of the Communist Party, USA.

Hall reported he had received information that a conference of the communist parties of the Americas is being organized. He said that the Communist Party, USA, would be invited.

#### Trade Union Movement

Hall reported that there is a rank-and-file revolution developing in the trade union movement in the United States. This revolution is reflected in the positions of Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and I. W. Abel of the United Steel Workers of America. A new alignment of forces is developing between the left, composed of communists and others who sympathize with them, and the center, composed of the United Auto Workers and others. This new alignment may result in a conference early next year to solidify the situation.

#### Practical Problems

The Communist Party, USA, and the Communist Party of Canada have agreed to sponsor a joint Marxist-Leninist School in the future. Each Party will run its own school and at one point, they will meet in joint sessions for a week or two.

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

- 3 -  
~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

MEETING OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA AT  
MONTREAL, CANADA, IN AUGUST, 1967

Hall reported that the Communist Party, USA, expects to publish a daily newspaper by May 1, 1968. He said this daily paper is essential in that the Party has been severely handicapped by lack of such a publication. He said that if the daily paper had been available at the time of the Newark and Detroit riots and at the time of the Newark Black Power Conference, the Communist Party, USA, could have influenced the course of events on a daily basis.

Hall stated that at the outset of these riots, the Party had denied spontaneity and had been ready to condemn looting. In a short time, however, it recognized the mass character of the riots and realized the Party must give leadership and not repudiate these people. Hall reported that the Negro situation is detracting from the United States war effort in Vietnam and will continue to do more damage to the Vietnam war effort. Hall stated that the Communist Party, USA, will continue to encourage the spreading Negro discontent even if it does lead to riots and looting.

Because of the sensitive nature of the sources which provided the above information, this document is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~/No Foreign Dissemination."

XEROX COPIES BEING FURNISHED MRS. STEGALL, THE WHITE HOUSE; THE ATTORNEY GENERAL; AND DIRECTOR, CIA; & DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL.

NOTE: Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~/No Foreign Dissemination," since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in especially grave damage to the Nation.

See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated September 7, 1967, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by RHH:cst.

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

- 4 -

~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: September 7, 1967

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R. H. Horner

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Solo is the code word used to refer to the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.

### PURPOSE:

This memorandum recommends downgrading of communications dated December 23, 27, and 28, 1960, classified "~~Secret~~", which were sent to the White House, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General, as well as to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of State, and the military intelligence agencies.

### BACKGROUND:

In December, 1960, CG 5824-S\*, one of our top informants, furnished the text of a letter which had been made available to him by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The letter, dated 11/5/60, set forth the response of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) to a letter from the Communist Party of China (CPC) dated 9/10/60. This exchange of letters was but a part of the growing ideological schism which was at that time developing between the Soviet Union and China.

This letter was also furnished to the delegates present at a meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow, Russia, November and December, 1960. It sets forth practically the entire details of the dispute between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the CPC.

Enclosures *sent*

100-428091

RHH:cst

(6)

CONTINUED - OVER

67 SEP 13 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

A summary of this information was furnished the White House, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General by letter dated 12/23/60. In addition, a copy of the letter was furnished the Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the military intelligence agencies by letter dated 12/27/60 and to the Joint Chiefs of Staff by letter 12/28/60.

By liaison, the Central Intelligence Agency has requested that the classification of this document be reviewed.

OBSERVATIONS:

Upon review of this memorandum, it is apparent that its classification may be downgraded from "~~Top Secret~~" to "~~Confidential~~" without jeopardizing our source, due to the lapse of time since the source furnished the information and since the original letter of the CCCPSU has become more or less a public document.

When this letter was sent to the White House, President Eisenhower was in office. It is customary practice for the President to remove all correspondence addressed to him when he leaves office. Therefore, no letter regarding the declassification of this document is being sent to the White House.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That the attached letters to the Secretary of State and the Attorney General be approved and sent.

2. That the attached letter to the Joint Chiefs of Staff be approved and sent.

3. That the attached letter to the Department of State, with copies to the Central Intelligence Agency and the military intelligence agencies be approved and sent.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CD/B*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: September 8, 1967

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☐  
Bishop ☐  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☐  
Gale ☐  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holmes ☐  
Gandy ☐

My memorandum of 8/9/67 set forth, in detail, disbursement of funds by the Communist Party, USA, during July, 1967, which funds had previously been received from the Soviet Union and Red China since September, 1958. The following is an accounting of these funds for August, 1967.

### TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED AND DISBURSED 9/58 TO 7/31/67

Total received from Soviet Union.....	\$4,717,745.19
Total received from Red China (all on 2/10/60).....	50,000.00
Total received 9/58 to 7/31/67.....	\$4,767,745.19
Total disbursed 9/58 to 7/31/67.....	3,922,695.66
Balance of Fund 7/31/67.....	845,049.53

There were no receipts or disbursements during August, 1967.

BALANCE OF FUND 8/31/67.....	\$ 845,049.53
In New York.....	\$ 719,282.98
In Chicago.....	125,766.55
	\$ 845,049.53

### ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your information. An up-to-date accounting of Party funds received from the Soviets will be brought to your attention each month. Details of the accounting of these funds are not to be disseminated.

100-428091

RHH:cst  
(5)

REC-35

EX-106

100-428091-6497

6 SEP 12 1967

67 SEP 13 1967

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

September 8, 1967

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R. H. Horner

*BP*  
*05040*  
Honorable Dean Rusk  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rusk:

Reference is made to my letter to the Honorable Christian A. Herter, dated December 23, 1960, classified "~~Top Secret~~," which furnished a summary of the contents of a letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated November 5, 1960.

Please be advised that the classification of this document may be downgraded from "~~Top Secret~~" to "Confidential."

Sincerely yours,

EX-102

REC-23

100-428091-6498

*per*  
*LoPr*  
*h*  
100-428091

6 SEP 13 1967

RHH:cst *cst*  
(7)

NOTE:

See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated September 7, 1967, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by RHH:cst.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

67 SEP 15 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Conrad  
FROM : C. F. Downing

DATE: September 12, 1967

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 9/12/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

## ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:csp esp  
(7)

REC 16

100-428091-6499

4 SEP 14 1967

EX 104

6 SEP 19 1967

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

9/12/67

Director, FBI (100-428091) - 6500 1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

REC 49

EX 106

Reurlet 9/8/67 which requested the Bureau to advise if copies of two documents received in confidential mail drop were to be furnished to the Bureau.

No copies of these publications need be forwarded to the Bureau at this time.

RCP:cst  
(4)

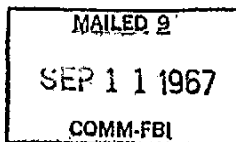
## NOTE:

CG 5824-S\* received two documents:

1. "Information Service of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," Number 3/1967; and
2. Bound volume of a German-language publication entitled "18th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA."

These documents are not needed at the Bureau since copies have already been received through the Central Intelligence Agency.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

67 SEP 18 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 9/8/67

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*5-R Problem*

On September 1, 1967, there was received in a Solo drop box in the name of NORMA HANSEL, Post Office Box 7363, Chicago, Illinois, a communication postmarked at Berlin, German Democratic Republic, date illegible. The return address was stamped Abs. P. M. SCHULZ, 102 Berlin, DDR, Werderscher Markt, which is the confidential return address utilized by HEINZ BIRCH, who is a contact of CG 5824-S\* employed in the International Department, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) where he is in charge of work relating to United States affairs and relations with the Communist Party (CP), USA.

Contained in the envelope were two copies each of the following publications:

- 1) Bound volume of the English language publication "Information Service of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," Number 3/1967. The contents of this volume are devoted entirely to the Second Session of the Central Committee, SUPG, on July 6-7, 1967, at Berlin, GDR. It contains the "communique" on the Second Session, Central Committee, SUPG; extracts from the report of the Political Bureau to the Second Session, Central Committee, SUPG, delivered by FRIEDRICH EBERT, member of the Political Bureau; and extracts of the speech at the Second Session, Central Committee, SUPG, of WALTER ULBRICHT, First Secretary of the Central Committee, SUPG.

- 1-704740
- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes  
(4)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 134-46 Sub B

- 2) Bound volume of a German language publication entitled "18. Parteitag der KP der USA." This volume contains the report of GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, to the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA which was held in New York City June 22-26, 1966, and other materials, including HALL's report to a National Committee meeting of the CP, USA in January, 1966, and several interviews of HALL previously published in "Pravda" and "Neues Deutschland."

The above publications have been given to CG 5824-S\* for eventual transmittal to GUS HALL. The Bureau is requested to advise the Chicago Office in the event copies of these publications are desired.

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 9/11/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

5-R. B. Sullivan

Re Chicago airtel to Director dated 9/11/67, captioned "COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS," setting forth the identities of the Communist Party (CP), USA delegates to the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution, Moscow, USSR, 11/7/67.

On 9/6/67 CG 5824-S\* advised that in his discussion of this subject with GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, HALL had specifically asked if it was not true that CG 5824-S\* has a standing invitation from the CP of the Soviet Union to attend the forthcoming celebration. CG 5824-S\* replied that this is correct. HALL indicated that he wanted to make sure that CG 5824-S\* would be there at the same time as HALL before selecting MICKIE LIMA, since the CP of the Soviet Union has limited the CP, USA delegation to four persons. Therefore, HALL now understands this invitation to be for four persons, plus CG 5824-S\*. HALL also recalled that the original informal invitation to the CP, USA had included the wives of GUS HALL and HENRY WINSTON, but no mention of wives has been made subsequently. Therefore, HALL is now considering whether

1- 904, 918

- ③ - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

WAB:mes  
(5)

EX 106  
REC 16

100-428091 6501  
SEP 18 1967

Approved: *mg/ll*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

6 SEP 19 1967

CG 134-46 Sub B

to inquire of the CP of the Soviet Union whether the wives of those two delegates may also attend the celebration. If he does so, this message will be prepared and transmitted by the Solo apparatus.

The above is submitted for the information of the Bureau.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB/BH*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: September 7, 1967

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R. H. Horner

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*C. D. Brennan*  
*R. H. Horner*

Solo is the code word used to refer to the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.

### PURPOSE:

This memorandum advises of pertinent information obtained by CG 5824-S\* during a conference held between Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, and William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada, in Montreal, Canada, on August 24, 1967.

### BACKGROUND:

On August 24, 1967, Gus Hall; CG 5824-S\*; and George Meyers, Chairman, National Trade Union Commission, Communist Party, USA, met with William Kashtan and other Canadian Party officials in Montreal to discuss matters of mutual interest to the two Parties. The following are pertinent points discussed during the conference:

### International Situation

Hall and Kashtan agreed there is a pressing need for unity in the world communist movement. To achieve this unity, they feel that it's imperative that an international meeting of Communist and Workers Parties be held to discuss questions of war and peace, support of national liberation movements, and so forth. This meeting must be held to prevent the splintering of the international communist movement. Both agreed that the Communist Party, USA, and the Communist Party of Canada would sponsor such a meeting of Communist and Workers Parties.

Enclosure sent 9-8-67  
100-428091

RHH:cst *cst*  
(6)

CONTINUED - OVER

REC-35

EX-106

100-428091-6495

6 SEP 12 1967

67 SEP 13 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

#### Middle East Situation

Both Parties have suffered as a result of the attitude taken by Jewish elements over the Arab-Jewish conflict. Jewish members appear to be intractable in their refusal to accept the Soviet position condemning Israel. The "Morning Freiheit," Jewish-language newspaper printed in the United States, has been offering leadership to those in Canada and the United States who have opposed the Parties' stand on the Middle East. Attendance at meetings and financial support have fallen off as a result of the crisis. While both Parties have had intentions of holding conferences on the Jewish Question, they now feel they will try to avoid such meetings because of this situation. The Middle East has not had a marked effect on the peace movement, either in the United States or Canada.

#### Latin American Situation

Both Parties oppose the attacks made by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro on other communist parties. Hall advised Kashtan of a forthcoming conference of communist parties of the Americas and the fact that the Communist Party, USA, would be invited.

#### Trade Union Question

A rank-and-file revolution is developing within the American trade union movement which will align the left (communists and others who sympathize with them) with the center (Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and others). This may result in a conference early next year to solidify this alignment.

#### General Discussion on Practical Problems

The Communist Party, USA, expects to publish a daily newspaper by May 1, 1968. Hall said the Party has been handicapped by the lack of such a paper. The Party could have influenced the course of events in Newark and Detroit in recent riots if such a paper had been available. The Party recognizes the mass character of these riots and that it should give leadership to these people and not repudiate them.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached summary be approved and sent by routing slip to the White House, the Attorney General, and the Central Intelligence Agency.



# OROUTE IN ENVELOPE

9/18/67

~~TOP SECRET~~

airtel

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

To: SAC, Chicago

REC 16

From: Director, FBI (100-428091) 6502

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EX 106

Reurtel 9/14/67 and Bureau phone call 9/15/67.

This will confirm denial of Bureau authority to expend \$625 for CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S to travel to San Francisco to obtain passports under the Sydney Smith Lesser legend.

In 9/65, when the Lesser legend was established, the Bureau authorized expenditure of \$633.52 for informants to travel to Los Angeles to renew their passports under the Harold Jules legend with the understanding that passports under the Lesser legend would be obtained in Chicago. The proposed travel to San Francisco is an unnecessary expenditure since passports can be obtained much closer to Chicago.

If security precautions make the obtaining of passports in Chicago inadvisable, the passports can be obtained from the clerk of any Federal or state court authorized to accept passport applications. This can be done in Cleveland, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Detroit, or any other city closer to Chicago than San Francisco. In view of the fact that the informant does not have to depart for the Soviet Union until mid-October, the passports could also be obtained when next the informants are in New York City. Keep Bureau advised of pertinent developments.

Retel states CG 5824-S\* has been selected by the Communist Party, USA, as a delegate to the 11/7/67 celebration in Moscow for the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Your airtel 9/11/67 states the Soviets limited the

Classified by 715714  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

MAILED 3  
SEP 15 1967  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RCP:cst  
(4)

~~TOP SECRET~~

SEP 19 1967

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Chicago  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

~~TOP SECRET~~

Communist Party, USA, to four delegates and that Gus Hall selected Mickie Lima as one delegate for he understood that CG 5824-S\* has a standing invitation from the Soviets to attend the celebration in addition to the four Communist Party, USA, delegates. Therefore, it appears that the informant is not a delegate of the Communist Party, USA. You should determine which is accurate.

This information was furnished Chicago 9/6/67. With this foreknowledge, it is difficult to see why it was necessary for you to submit a request for funds for the informants to travel to the West coast by teletype which required an answer on an expedite basis. You should insure that steps taken to secure documentation for the informants are carefully thought out and planned in advance in order to avoid precipitous actions which might jeopardize the informants' security.

NOTE:

Passports to new legend deemed advisable since informants have made several trips to the Soviet under previous legend. However, it is not necessary for informants to travel to the west coast to obtain these passports.

~~TOP SECRET~~

VIA TELETYPE  
SEP 14 1967  
ENCIPHERED

WA -2- 417 PM DRS  
URGENT 9-14-67 ATS  
TO DIRECTOR  
FROM CHICAGO 2P

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

SOLO. IS-C.

BUREAU IS AWARE THAT CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR - S ASTERISK HAS BEEN SELECTED BY CP, USA AS DELEGATE TO NOVEMBER SEVEN CELEBRATION IN MOSCOW, USSR. ANTICIPATED DEPARTURE ON THIS NEXT SOLO MISSION ABOUT MID OCTOBER NEXT FOLLOWING MEETING OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, CP, USA, IN NEW YORK CITY. BUREAU HAS PREVIOUSLY APPROVED CONSTRUCTION OF NEW LEGEND UNDER NAMES OF SYDNEY SMITH LESSER FOR CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR - S ASTERISK AND EVALIN LESSER NEE JESKI FOR CG SIX SIX FIVE THREE- S, SINCE OLD LEGEND UNDER NAME OF JULES HAS OUTLIVED USEFULNESS. FOR SECURITY REASONS IT IS DESIRABLE NEW PASSPORTS BE OBTAINED AT SAN FRANCISCO. CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR -S ASTERISK AND CG SIX SIX FIVE THREE - S DESIRE TO DEPART FOR SAN FRANCISCO SEPTEMBER SEVENTEEN NEXT FOR STAY OF TWO-THREE DAYS IN SAN FRANCISCO TO OBTAIN PASSPORTS. BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO SUTEL AUTHORITY BY COB SEPTEMBER FIFTEEN NEXT FOR SUCH TRAVEL BY INFORMANTS AND TO AUTHORIZE FOLLOWING

END PAGE ONE

1-904 9HD

REC 16

EX 106

6 SEP 18 1967

Delivered to SAC, CG  
R.P. van 9/18/67

100-428091-6502

PAGE TWO

EXPENSES: ROUND TRIP AIR FARE FOUR HUNDRED EIGHTY NINE  
DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; HOTEL FIFTY SIX DOLLARS; MEALS  
AND MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES FIFTY DOLLARS; PASSPORTS AND  
PHOTOS TWENTY NINE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; TOTAL SIX HUNDRED  
AND TWENTY FIVE DOLLARS.

END

RAK FBI WASH DC

10:44:15 C  
2EL 1-1-73

THU 6/10/00  
CODING UNIT

24

14.21

~~SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

BY LIAISON

Date: September 14, 1967

To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: BEATRICE-SISKIND-JOHNSON

A source which has supplied reliable information in the past recently furnished the following regarding captioned individual.

Beatrice Siskind Johnson has been serving as the representative of the Communist Party, USA, in Havana, Cuba. She has also been serving as the Havana correspondent for "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper published twice weekly in the United States.

Leaders of the Communist Party, USA, have been advised that Johnson believes her continued presence in Cuba is useless. She believes she is treated the same as any other "bourgeois" American and, thus, is considered to be an enemy of Cuba.

As a result, Johnson hopes to move to Chile by early 1968. She has been promised a job in Chile on the staff of the newspaper of the Communist Party of Chile. While in Chile, Johnson will not officially represent the Communist Party, USA, because she has been away from it and the United States too long.

In order to facilitate her travel to Chile and her movements once there, Johnson is attempting to have her Polish citizenship restored and to have a Polish passport issued to her. The Communist Party, USA, is

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091 - 6 5-103

RCP:cst  
(7)

REC-14

~~SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

SEP 19 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

WCS/108 GBT  
Ent

~~SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research

making a request to the Polish United Workers Party (Communist Party of Poland) that Johnson's desires be honored, and is advising that her desires are strongly supported by the Communist Party, USA. In return for this support from the Communist Party, USA, Johnson has promised to serve as a correspondent for "The Worker" in Chile without pay. Johnson also indicated that she was once informed by Polish authorities that since she was born in Poland, she has the right to have her Polish nationality restored.

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

b6  
b7C

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation.

Data extracted from Chicago airtel 9/11/67,  
captioned "Solo, IS - C."

CG 5824-S\* received this information from Helen Winter, who also instructed him to take the necessary action to advise the Communist Party of Poland of Johnson's desires, which the informant is doing through the Solo apparatus.

~~SECRET~~

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 9/11/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "BEATRICE SISKIND JOHNSON."

The information in the enclosed LHM was furnished on 9/6-7/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~SECRET~~" in order to protect the identity of this highly placed source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. Unauthorized disclosure would jeopardize the security of this source, thus adversely affecting the national security.

The enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C., in order to further protect the identity of this source.

- 1 - 904, 9+8 with and
- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

WAB:mes  
(5)

REC-14

6 SEP 18 1967

Approved: *mg/RA*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Let to State  
1-2-68  
Rec'd  
9/14/67

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S\* advised that the information concerning BEATRICE SISKIND JOHNSON was contained in a letter from her to GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA. This letter was brought into the United States and delivered to HALL by LOU DISKIN on his return from the USSR around the beginning of 8/67. HALL turned this letter over to HELEN WINTER to furnish the details to CG 5824-S\* which she did while CG 5824-S\* was in New York City during the period 9/1-6/67. HALL instructed CG 5824-S\* to take the necessary action of notifying the Polish United Workers Party of JOHNSON's desires regarding her Polish citizenship and instructed that this be presented as a request by the CP, USA. JOHNSON stated in her letter that she was once told by Polish authorities that since she was born in Poland she has the right to have her passport restored. In return for this favor by the CP, USA, JOHNSON has promised to be a regular correspondent in Chile for "The Worker" without pay.





In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.  
September 11, 1967

~~SECRET~~

BEATRICE SISKIND JOHNSON

BORN POLAND

During September, 1967, a source, who has  
furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It has been learned that Beatrice Siskind  
Johnson, representative of the Communist Party (CP),  
USA in Cuba and Havana correspondent for "The Worker," an  
East Coast twice weekly communist newspaper, is of the  
opinion that her continued presence in Cuba is worthless.  
She feels that she is treated just the same as any other  
"bourgeois" American and is thus considered an enemy of Cuba.

USA

As a result, Johnson hopes to move to Chile  
by the beginning of 1968. She has been promised a job  
writing for the newspaper of the CP of Chile. She will  
not officially represent the CP, USA in Chile since she has  
been so long away from the United States and the CP, USA.  
In order to facilitate her travel to Chile and her movements  
once there, she is attempting to have her Polish citizenship  
restored and to have a Polish passport issued to her.

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor  
conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.  
It is the property of the Federal Bureau of  
Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and  
its contents are not to be distributed outside your  
agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-6503

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 8/31/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_ (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

The information in the enclosed LHM was furnished during the period 8/26-29/67 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~SECRET~~" in order to protect the identity of this highly placed source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. Unauthorized disclosure would jeopardize the security of this source, thus adversely affecting the national security.

The enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C., in order to further protect the identity of this source.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM) *100*  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Info) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

WAB:mes  
(5)

6 SEP 19 1967

Approved: MD/RA/11 Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SEP 22 1967 Special Agent in Charge

6

SEP 22 1967

CG 134-46 Sub B

Set forth hereinafter are additional details beyond the information set forth in the LHM enclosed herewith. It was deemed advisable that these details be omitted from the LHM since they are of such a nature that identification of the informant could be made quite readily.

Listed below are the identities of all participants in the meeting which is the subject of the enclosed LHM:

WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary,  
Communist Party of Canada (CPC)

NELSON CLARKE, National Organization  
Secretary, CPC

AL MURPHY, Editor of the "Canadian  
Tribune," weekly newspaper of the CPC

SAM WALSH, leader of the CP of Quebec

JEANETTE WALSH, wife of SAM WALSH

GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA

GEORGE MEYERS, Chairman of the National  
Trade Union Commission, CP, USA

CG 5824-S\*, Secretary of the International  
Affairs Commission, CP, USA

All of the above listed Canadians are members of the Executive Committee and Secretariat of the CPC and all of the above representatives of the CP, USA are members of the National Executive Board and (with the exception of CG 5824-S\*) the Secretariat of the CP, USA.

CG 5824-S\* arrived in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, early on 8/22/67 and made contact with representatives of the CPC to inspect the quarters which had been reserved by them for GUS HALL and his party. SAM WALSH had rented three rooms that could sleep six to eight people but upon inspection

CG 134-46 Sub B

it was determined that they were located in a slum area of Montreal and CG 5824-S\* realized that GUS HALL would be very unhappy with such arrangements. Therefore, although CG 5824-S\* reimbursed WALSH in the amount of \$200.00 for the rental of these rooms, they were not used by anyone during the course of this visit.

CG 5824-S\* then, after some difficulty, arranged new lodgings for the entire party at the St. Gabriel Lodge located in the Laurentian Mountains about 50 miles outside Montreal, Phone (514) 228-3547. GUS HALL, his wife ELIZABETH HALL, and [redacted] arrived late on 8/22/67 and occupied a room at the above lodge. GEORGE MEYERS, accompanied by his wife, daughter and son, arrived late on 8/22/67 and was unable to locate the other CP, USA representatives. Logexpo obtained a place for them to spend the night but the following day his family also took a room at the St. Gabriel Lodge. BILL KASHTAN arrived in Montreal from Toronto at 4:30 PM on 8/22/67 and after taking care of some CPC business, arrived at the St. Gabriel Lodge about 11:30 PM and also spent the night at the lodge. b6 b7C

JAMES JACKSON, Chairman of the International Affairs Commission and a member of the National Executive Board and Secretariat of the CP, USA was in Canada to visit Expo 67. Arrangements had been made to meet JACKSON on 8/23/67 at the Queen Elizabeth Hilton Hotel in downtown Montreal, Canada. As a matter of fact, CG 5824-S\* personally observed JACKSON in the lobby of that hotel on the morning of 8/22/67 although JACKSON did not observe CG 5824-S\*. At the appointed times on 8/23/67 when JACKSON was to be met at the above hotel, representatives of the CP, USA or SAM WALSH of the CPC waited there for him but JACKSON never appeared. It was the intention that JACKSON would report to the CPC on the Negro situation in the United States and would thereafter appear before a number of gatherings throughout Canada to deliver such a report before Party groups. JACKSON did not show up throughout the entire visit and, therefore, the report on the Negro situation was made at the meeting by GUS HALL.

CG 134-46 Sub B

On 8/23/67 the entire CP, USA party, accompanied by several members of the CPC, visited Expo 67. HALL refused to go near the American pavilion at the fair. The group (minus CG 5824-S\* and his wife) visited the Russian pavilion, where they were met by a special three member committee to conduct them on a tour of the pavilion. The leader of this group was VICTOR STAGALIA, Phone Number 871-2070, Extension 42. Another member of the group who is giving lectures at Expo 67 on the economy of the USSR was Professor, Doctor of Economy VLADIMIR V. SUSHCHENKO, whose Moscow address is Institute of World Economics and International Relations, Moscow, 2, Jaroslavskaya, 3; Phone 83-38-09 (or E3-3809). In addition to the tour of the pavilion, the USSR group had arranged a special luncheon at the pavilion for HALL's party.

Following the luncheon at the USSR pavilion, HALL's party then visited the exhibit of Czechoslovakia. At this pavilion their guide was the Ambassador and Commissioner General of the exhibit, MIROSLAV GALUSKA. The group rushed through a tour of the Czech pavilion in order to return to the USSR pavilion for a special singing and fashion show being held at 5:00 PM that date. After the tour of the Czech pavilion, GUS HALL remarked that the Czechs showed him the Jewish part of the pavilion. This was in reference to an exhibit concerning a synagogue in Warsaw which is the oldest synagogue in Europe. HALL made a similar comment to the Czechs and they replied that the Jewish exhibit was included so that no one can say that the Czechs are treating Jews badly. HALL did not like the Czech exhibit and made no secret of the fact.

On the evening of 8/23/67 KASHTAN was arranging for a dinner in honor of GUS HALL and was going to great pains to insure that it was an extra fine place. While KASHTAN was in the process of making these arrangements, GUS HALL became impatient and told KASHTAN to forget the whole thing and that he was going back to his lodge. KASHTAN became insulted because he felt that HALL was treating him as if he was one of HALL's CP, USA members and he would not stand for it. KASHTAN told HALL he would just say good-bye at this point and go back to Toronto and there would be no meeting.

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S\* spoke to HALL about this and HALL stated that he did not intend his remarks in the manner in which KASHTAN took them. He said that he just thought that the CP, USA members were exploiting KASHTAN too much and putting him to too much trouble. With HALL's acquiescence, CG 5824-S\* then got in touch with KASHTAN and patched up the quarrel. KASHTAN said he would try to forget the unpleasantness.

The next morning the group prepared to attend the meeting between the leaderships of the respective Parties. The apartment which they were going to use had been selected at random and was just a "picked up" apartment which had had a "For Rent" sign in front of it. SAM WALSH said that such an apartment could not be used and he, therefore, arranged for the use of the apartment of a good Party member who lived in a slum section of the French Quarter of Montreal. Therefore, the meeting was held at the apartment of Mrs. LE BRUN, 4572 St. Urbain, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

At the outset of the meeting, GUS HALL again angered KASHTAN by asking where was TIM BUCK who had been in Montreal the previous day for a Ukrainian Day celebration at Expo 67. It was obvious that KASHTAN was not in any mood for anyone else besides himself to handle these dealings with other Parties. HALL then asked if NORMAN FREED was back in the country from his European vacation to which KASHTAN responded that he was. HALL then asked if FREED would attend the meeting. KASHTAN replied that he did not think so. CG 5824-S\* stated that he knew that FREED would not attend since FREED was teaching a CPC youth school at that time in Toronto which would run through 9/1/67.

In regard to the information set forth in the LHM concerning the international situation wherein HALL reported information he had obtained concerning the attitude of the CP of Italy and the Vietnamese Parties concerning an international meeting, CG 5824-S\* stated that HALL did not inform him of the source of this information. In regard to the information concerning CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT's treatment at the Conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity in Havana, Cuba, HALL stated that he had obtained

CG 134-46 Sub B

this information from JANE MC MANUS of the "National Guardian" when she returned from the conference. HALL also did not state the source of his information that there will be a conference of Parties of the Americas as set forth in the discussion of the Latin American situation.

Following the discussion of the trade union question, it was agreed that the two Parties would have to work out more concrete forms of getting together. At this point HALL stated that GEORGE MEYERS should stay behind in Canada for a few days and go up to Toronto and work out some such arrangements with the CPC. Later that afternoon after the meeting was over and they were back at the St. Gabriel Lodge, HALL changed his mind and told GEORGE MEYERS not to remain in Canada but to return to New York City. Neither HALL nor MEYERS informed the CPC that MEYERS was not going to arrive in Toronto as promised.

On 8/25/67 GUS HALL and his family departed by car from Canada on the return trip to New York City. GEORGE MEYERS and his group departed shortly thereafter also by car. HALL had originally intended to depart on Saturday and had already directed CG 5824-S\* to pay for the rooms at the lodge for an additional night, which CG 5824-S\* did. During the afternoon HALL changed his mind and departed. CG 5824-S\* also departed during the late afternoon of 8/25/67 driving the rental car he had secured in New York City and arrived back in Chicago during the late afternoon of 8/26/67.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

August 31, 1967

~~SECRET~~

MEETING OF LEADERSHIP OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CANADA, MONTREAL, CANADA, AUGUST 24,  
1967

During August, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It was learned that on August 24, 1967, a secret meeting was held in Montreal, Canada, of leaders from the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and the CP, USA. William Kashtan, General Secretary of the CPC, represented the CPC, and Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP, USA, represented the CP, USA. Both were accompanied by a small number of their respective Parties' leadership. Among the items on the agenda for discussion at the meeting were the following: 1) International situation and the need for an international meeting of Communist and Workers Parties; 2) Middle East situation and its affect on Party work in Canada and the USA; 3) Latin American situation and the need to counter activities of Fidel Castro; 4) Trade union question; and 5) Information report on the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) movement in the USA.

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-6504-



MEETING OF LEADERSHIP OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CANADA, MONTREAL, CANADA, AUGUST 24,  
1967

~~SECRET~~

Regarding the international situation, the positions of both Parties were in agreement. According to Kashtan, the need for unity in the world communist movement is most pressing, since unless such unity is achieved there may come about a change in the balance of forces in the world whereby the forces of imperialism can gain the upper hand. Therefore, an international meeting of Communist and Workers Parties is imperative.

Hall agreed with Kashtan's assessment of the situation and stated that such an international meeting must be held even if the CP of China does not attend because no one Party or two Parties can be allowed to veto the needs of the world movement. Hall emphasized that he does not mean by this that he favors the forming of a new "International."

In Hall's opinion, unless questions of war and peace, support of the national liberation movement, etc., are discussed, the result will be more splintering of the international communist movement.

While Hall and Kashtan were in general agreement, there were dissenting views expressed by some other Canadian leaders present who believed that the calling of an international meeting will widen the split in the world communist movement; nevertheless, Kashtan stated that the great majority of the CPC would support his position. Kashtan stated that at the end of August, the CPC will hold a Plenum and a resolution will be introduced asking for such an international meeting of Communist and Workers Parties.

Kashtan stated that he will be going to Moscow, USSR, for the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the

~~SECRET~~

MEETING OF LEADERSHIP OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CANADA, MONTREAL, CANADA, AUGUST 24,  
1967

~~SECRET~~

October Revolution and he is sure that talks will be held at that time on this subject. He will support the idea of an international meeting.

In a discussion of the splintering of the international communist movement and the need for unity, Kashtan reported that he had been led to believe by the CP of the Soviet Union that the CPC would receive an invitation to the Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties which was held April 24-26, 1967, at Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia. Throughout the course of the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held April 17-22, 1967, in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, which Kashtan attended, he had expected to be contacted by either the Russians or the Czechs with an invitation to attend the meeting, but none was forthcoming. In response, Hall reported that he also had made vigorous attempts to obtain an invitation for the CP, USA to attend the Karlovy Vary conference as observers. Numerous letters had been directed to various Parties in Europe in an effort to have someone sponsor the CP, USA's request, but all his efforts were in vain and the CP, USA was not invited.

During the course of the debate on the international situation, Hall reported that although the CP, USA had previously been informed that the CP of Italy would not attend such an international meeting, he had recently received information that the position of the CP of Italy is that they will not sponsor such a meeting but if it is held they will attend. In a similar vein, the argument against such a meeting has been advanced that the Vietnamese Parties will not attend if China does not participate; however, the CP, USA has received information that the Vietnamese have said that they would not sponsor such a meeting, but if such a meeting is held and if the situation in Vietnam was on the agenda, then they would attend the meeting for consideration of that point.

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MEETING OF LEADERSHIP OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CANADA, MONTREAL, CANADA, AUGUST 24,  
1967

~~SECRET~~

The conclusion of the CP, USA - CPC exchange on this subject was that the CPC and the CP, USA agreed that they would sponsor an international meeting of Communist and Workers Parties.

In regard to the situation in the Middle East, the discussion resolved itself into a debate between the CPC and the CP, USA over which Party was worse off as a result of the Israel-Arab conflict. The Jewish elements of both Parties have been intractable and have refused to accept their Party's position of condemning Israel as an aggressive tool of United States imperialism. The CPC reported that a big part of their problem has been that the "Morning Freiheit" (a characterization of which is attached hereto) is received daily in Canada and has provided leadership on a daily basis to the Jewish opposition to the Canadian Party's position. The CP, USA replied that all is not lost as far as the "Morning Freiheit" is concerned, and that some people on that paper are changing their minds and moving to a position closer to that of the CP, USA.

The CPC stated that the situation is not all bad in Canada either, and that some of the opposition is coming around. It was reported that Joseph Gershman, head of the Jewish Commission of the CPC and editor of the weekly Jewish paper in Canada ("Wachen Blatt" - phonetic), had just returned from a visit to the USSR with some changed opinions. While he does not agree one hundred percent with the position of the CP of the Soviet Union and the CPC, nonetheless he now believes that his position of opposition was not totally correct either. He admits that Israel is aggressive and is wrong in refusing to relinquish the Arab territory it conquered and he recognizes that to support Israel totally means giving up the fight against United States imperialism in the Middle East. He has accepted as sincere the Soviet statement that it is the position of the USSR that Israel does have a right to exist and he endorses that statement.

~~SECRET~~

MEETING OF LEADERSHIP OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CANADA, MONTREAL, CANADA, AUGUST 24,  
1967

~~SECRET~~

Kashtan reported that just as the CP, USA sent three hundred dollars to the support of the Meir Vilner - Tawfiq Toubi Pro-Arab Communist Party of Israel, so also the CPC has sent a fifty dollar donation to the Vilner - Toubi group as a gesture to show that the CPC recognizes that group as the true CP of Israel. Nevertheless, the CPC will not break relations with the Shmuel Mikunis - Moshe Sneh Pro-Israel Communist Party of Israel because recent information indicates that even within that group there have been splits over that group's wholehearted endorsement of the actions of the Government of Israel. Perhaps the CPC can remain on speaking terms with some people in that Party and thus influence them. Hall agreed that the CPC position is a good one and reported that the CP, USA has not broken relations with the Mikunis - Sneh group either.

The CPC reported that a real crisis exists in the CP of Québec on the Middle East question. As an example, there is some fraternal order in Quebec which numbers about 1,000 members in Montreal. Meetings of a Party group which works with this fraternal order have seen the number in attendance cut in half; they also raise money for the CP of Quebec, but since the Arab-Israel clash these donations have amounted to only about one-tenth their previous total. However, the head of this fraternal order is slowly changing his mind about Israel and may come closer to the communist position in the future. The CPC will remain patient and does not intend to expel anyone from their party over this. The CP, USA expressed its intention to do likewise.

Kashtan stated that the CPC intends to call a conference on the Jewish question and inquired what the CP, USA has done about this situation since it was previously published that the CP, USA intended to hold a similar conference on the Jewish question. Hall responded that the CP, USA has "postponed this meeting to death" and that the CP, USA is not anxious to hold such a meeting. Kashtan stated that the CPC also will try to avoid holding such a meeting.

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MEETING OF LEADERSHIP OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CANADA, MONTREAL, CANADA, AUGUST 24,  
1967

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A corollary to the discussion on the Middle East situation was the expression of concern over the effect of that situation on the peace movement in the United States and Canada. Both Parties agreed that although the Israel-Arab war placed great strains on the peace movement, it did not have too marked an effect. The CPC cited the case of Rabbi Feinberg, author of "The Walls of Jericho," who was pro-Israel in this situation but did not change his anti-imperialist attitude regarding the war in Vietnam. For its part, the CP, USA cited the case of Martin Luther King who supported Israel but did not change his opposition to United States policy in Vietnam. Both Parties concurred that hysteria did not grip those who work in the peace movement in either country.

On the third item on the agenda, the Latin American situation, the discussion generally concerned what could be done about the attacks on other Parties by Fidel Castro of Cuba. Since the CPC and the CP, USA are Communist Parties in imperialist countries, they are placed in a difficult position by such attacks and are in a very poor position to engage in polemics with Castro. Although Castro constantly demands autonomy for all CPs, at the same time he constantly tells all the CPs of the world, especially those in Latin America, what to do. It was agreed that, as expressed by Hall, matters of theoretical and ideological principles must be defended, and in response to Castro theoretical and principled positions must be taken up even if no names are mentioned in the refutation of Castro.

In discussing Castro, Hall gave some examples of the treatment which had been received by the CP, USA at the hands of Cuba. The CP, USA was supposed to send two delegates to the Conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity held in Havana, Cuba, beginning July 31, 1967. Tito Nolasco, Secretary of the Latin American Commission of the CP, USA, went by way of Mexico City, but upon application to the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City for a visa,

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he was denied admittance to Cuba. Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the Negro Commission of the CP, USA, went to Havana via Moscow, but upon arrival in Havana was denied the opportunity to play any role at the conference. As a matter of fact, he was refused the floor of the meeting to speak in the name of the CP, USA. Additionally, the official representative of the CP, USA in Cuba who was also the Havana correspondent for "The Worker," the twice weekly East Coast communist newspaper, Beatrice Johnson, was placed in the same category as the bourgeois journalists and was not permitted to attend the meetings of the conference which were restricted to communist press coverage.

Hall reported that he had received information that there will be a conference of CPs of the Americas and that the CP, USA will be invited. This conference will be called by some Latin American Parties but not including Cuba. Hall gave no dates for this conference. He also stated that he has heard that the CPC will also be invited to this conference. Kashtan stated that the CPC was not invited to the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference and furthermore he has not heard anything about this conference of CPs of the Americas.

The next item on the agenda was a discussion of the trade union question. The CP, USA presented a brief report, the main point of which was that there is a big rank and file revolution developing in the American trade union movement. This revolution is reflected in the positions of Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers and I. W. Abel of the steel workers union. A new alignment is developing between the left (communists and others who sympathize with them, including the left wing in the independent unions) and the center, (Reuther, and others). This may result in a conference early next year to solidify this alignment. It was emphasized that activities in common among Canadian and United States unions must be identified

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and pursued in order to achieve a greater solidarity among these unions. The CPC showed little interest in this approach. Although endorsing cooperation where desirable, the dominant concern of the Canadian unions is autonomy - they do not want to take their orders from Washington, D.C. The CP, USA agreed in principle on the question of autonomy but pursued the question of working out more concrete forms of getting together with the CPC on areas of mutual interest in the trade union field. This was agreed to by the CPC. The Canadians agreed that more material on trade union matters appearing in articles in "The Worker" will be reprinted in the "Canadian Tribune," the weekly newspaper of the CPC. In general, both Parties also agreed on a greater exchange of documents in the trade union field and more frequent meetings on the subject between Party representatives.

The next item on the agenda was a discussion of the National Conference for New Politics movement in the United States, but this matter was passed over rather hurriedly. Hall gave a short resume of its beginnings and Kashtan replied with a discussion of the New Democratic Party development in Canada. According to Kashtan, the New Democratic Party is way ahead of anything thus far developed in the United States. Hall stated that the National Conference for New Politics has been developing well ahead of expectations, and a gathering of five thousand people is expected at its convention in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend. This movement will gather together Negroes, youth and those independents who have the feeling that they have been betrayed by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Sometime following the Labor Day conference, the National Conference for New Politics will have a convention to nominate candidates to run in the 1968 elections; there will be national candidates to oppose Johnson and there may also be some local candidates.

Next there was a discussion of some practical problems. The first of these discussed was the question of a

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joint school between the CP, USA and the CPC. It was agreed that these Parties will sponsor a joint Marxist-Leninist school as before, but on a different basis. This time, each Party will run its own school and at one point the CP, USA will send its students into Canada for a week or two for joint sessions. Thus, the joint school will last perhaps one-third of the time previously envisioned after starting as separate schools. No time was set for this school.

Next the CPC asked whether the CP, USA really expected to get its daily newspaper started as publicized. Hall affirmed that the CP, USA expects to publish a daily paper by May 1, 1968, in spite of some opposition by some functionaries of the CP, USA. He said that a daily paper is essential and that the CP, USA has been severely handicapped by a lack of it at this time. He stated that if the CP, USA had had a daily paper at the time of the Newark and Detroit riots and at the time of the Newark Black Power Conference, the CP, USA could have influenced the course of events on a daily basis.

At this point, since the subject had been raised, the CPC asked for more information concerning the Negro situation in the United States. Hall complied and stated that the CP, USA did not have the correct line at the outset of the riots. It had denied the spontaneity of the riots at the beginning and had been ready to condemn the looting. But in a short time, the CP, USA recognized the mass character of these riots and realized that the Party must give leadership and not repudiate these people. According to Hall, this Negro situation is the "Achilles Heel" of imperialism. It is detracting from the United States war effort in Vietnam and will continue to do more damage to the Vietnam war effort of the United States. The ruling class in the United States cannot sweep this situation under the rug.

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If they make promises to these people, they will have to fulfill them. Although previously the CP, USA believed that the ruling class in the United States would never compromise with the oppressed and with the Negroes, the Party has now changed its mind and believes that the ruling class will make some economic and political concessions. Therefore, the CP, USA will continue to encourage the spreading Negro discontent even if it does lead to riots and looting.

The meeting closed with mutual statements of appreciation for the opportunity of holding such a meeting. It was agreed that much closer contacts must be maintained between both Parties in the future and more frequent meetings of this type should be held.

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APPENDIX

"MORNING FREIHEIT"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on page 193 concerning the "Morning Freiheit":

- "1. The Communist International 'subsidized \* \* \* the founding of the CPUSA's (Communist Party, USA) newspaper, Freiheit.'

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 81-101, Codified Report with respect to the Communist Party of the United States of America, December 18, 1956, p. 159.)

- "2. A 'Communist Vicious daily.'

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, October 24, 1942, p. 7686.)

- "3. 'The Freiheit has been one of the rankest organs of Communist propaganda in this country for almost a quarter of a century.'

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 75.)"

APPENDIX

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# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Liaison

05020

BY LIAISON

Date: September 11, 1967

1 - Mr. R. H. Horner

To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

To MR Stanley  
State  
9/11/67  
gmj

Reference is made to my letter dated August 10, 1960, captioned as above, which enclosed a photostat of a summary of an 84-page letter dated June 21, 1960, which was addressed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the leadership of all communist parties.

Please be advised that the classification of this document may be downgraded from "Top Secret" to "Confidential."

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

1 - Commander, Naval Intelligence Command

1 - Office of Special Investigations  
Air Force

6 SEP 19 1967

Attention: Chief, Counterintelligence Division

1 - Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence  
Department of the Army

Attention: Director of Security

100-428091

RHH:cst  
(12)

NOTE: See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to W. C. Sullivan, dated September 8, 1967, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by RHH:cst.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SEP 22 1967 TELETYPE UNIT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CBH*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: September 8, 1967

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R. H. Horner

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*C. D. Brennan*

Solo is the code word used to refer to the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.

### PURPOSE:

This memorandum recommends downgrading of a communication classified "Top Secret," containing information from CG 5824-S\*, which was disseminated to the Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the military intelligence agencies on 8/10/60.

### BACKGROUND:

In July, 1960, CG 5824-S\*, one of our top informants, furnished a report which contained practically the complete text of an 84-page letter written by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which had been addressed to the leadership of all communist parties.

This letter was read at the Conference of Communist Parties held in Bucharest, Romania, in June, 1960. The letter deals with the developing ideological dispute between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

Dissemination of this letter was made as indicated above.

By liaison, the Central Intelligence Agency has requested that the classification of this information be reviewed.

Enclosure

100-428091

RHH:cst

(6)

REC-3 100-428091-6596

6 SEP 19 1967

CONTINUED - OVER

6 SEP 22 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

OBSERVATION:

Upon review, it is apparent that the classification of this information may be downgraded from "Top Secret" to "Confidential" without jeopardizing our informant, due to the lapse of time and the fact that the contents of the letter were read at the Conference of Communist Parties in 1960.

RECOMMENDATION:

*sent to*  
That the attached letter addressed to the Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State, with copies to the Central Intelligence Agency and the military intelligence agencies, be approved and forwarded advising that the letter of 8/10/60 may be downgraded.

*OK*  
*W.C.S.* *D*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 9/13/67

FROM *AS/RS* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

On September 12, 1967, there was received at a Solo drop box in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois, a communication from the Brazilian Communist Party (CP) postmarked August 28, 1967, place illegible. This communication bore the stamped return address of "Laboratorio De Pesquisas, Farmaceutico - Cientificas, Dep. Internacional, Rua Uruguai, 229, Rio de Janeiro."

The contents of this communication were two copies of the following publication of the Brazilian CP: "Bulletin D'Information Pour L' Etranger," July, 1967, prepared by the Foreign Affairs Section of the Central Committee, Brazilian CP. Enclosed herewith are two Xerox copies for the Bureau and one Xerox copy for New York of the above named publication. This communication and its contents are being turned over to CG 5824-S\* for eventual transmittal to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 2) (RM)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

WAB:mes  
(4)

REC 3

6 SEP 19 1507



SEP 22 1967

*Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan*

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU (2)

Two (2) copies of following  
publication of Brazilian CP:  
"Bulletin D'Information Pour  
L' Etranger," July, 1967

Bureau 100-428091  
Chicago 134-46 Sub B

# BULLETIN D'INFORMATION POUR L'ETRANGER

PARTI COMMUNISTE BRÉSILIEN

*DANS CE NUMERO:*

- *La politique antiouvrière de la dictature se poursuit sous le gouvernement Costa e Silva*
- *Toute notre solidarité aux guérilleros de Caparaó*
- *La classe ouvrière fête le Premier Mai*  
*Les étudiants en lutte contre la Dictature*

Bulletin élaboré par la  
Section de Relations Extérieures du Comité Central

Juillet 1967



## LA POLITIQUE ANTIOUVRIÈRE DE LA DICTATURE SE POURSUIT SOUS LE GOUVERNEMENT COSTA E SILVA

Le gouvernement s'utilisa du 1er Mai pour intensifier sa démagogie vis-à-vis de la classe ouvrière et de tous les travailleurs. A cette occasion une note fut émise. Le ministre du Travail Passarinho parcourut quelques villes de l'Etat de S. Paulo, organisa des réunions avec des dirigeants ouvriers, où il confirma la "reprise du dialogue" et fit de nouvelles promesses. Il parla surtout de l'abolition du certificat idéologique (exigence du gouvernement d'une preuve de non-appartenance au mouvement de gauche) et d'une nouvelle politique des salaires.

Analisons, plutôt, des faits. Peu après le 1er Mai, la presse signalait que le chef de la 8ème Région Militaire avait refusé de reconnaître les trois listes qui se présentaient aux élections du Syndicat des Journalistes de l'Etat du Pará. Il se crée, donc, une nouvelle restriction à la liberté syndicale: le veto militaire. C'est le pouvoir militaire que décide, de façon directe, qui peut ou ne peut participer à la direction des Syndicats des travailleurs.

Et à quoi se ramène en réalité l'annonce de l'abolition du certificat idéologique? Le ministre Passarinho se charge lui-même de répondre. Il dit que la mesure sera adoptée lorsqu'on aura terminé l'étude "d'une autre formule" capable d'empêcher que les "subversifs" dirigent de nouveau les syndicats. Il s'agit donc à peine, comme on le voit, de substituer une formule par une autre. Le ministre ne promet pas, en réalité, d'abolir le certificat idéologique, mais de le main-

tenir sous un autre nom, sous une autre apparence. Il prétend ainsi garder la tutelle des syndicats et empêcher que les travailleurs puissent exercer le droit d'élire librement leurs dirigeants.

On connaît fort bien ce que la dictature entend par "subversion" et "subversifs". Les IPMs (Commissions d'enquêtes militaires et policières) donnent fort bien une idée à ce sujet. La discrimination englobe tous les travailleurs qui, à la tête des syndicats, se montrent capables de les orienter dans la vraie lutte en défense de leurs intérêts et de leur droits. C'est là le vrai problème.

Le gouvernement Costa e Silva, suivant le même chemin que celui de Castelo Branco, ne veut pas permettre que les syndicats puissent accomplir leur vrai rôle d'organe de classe et d'instrument de lutte des travailleurs. Il prétend les transformer en entité de loisirs et d'assistance, chargée de distribuer des bourses d'études et d'autres missions dans le genre. Dans le message, mentionné plus haut, Costa e Silva déclare que "C'est un 1er Mai à nouveau sens, que la révolution lui attribua... une fête de confraternisation entre Capital et Travail... sans que les plus pauvres doctrinent au nom de la haine de classe". C'est, comme on le voit, la négation de la vraie signification du 1er Mai, date à laquelle, les travailleurs du monde entier commémorent le passé héroïque de luttes de la classe ouvrière contre l'exploitation capitaliste, commémorent les énormes succès conquis au cours de ces luttes, et réaffir-

ment la décision de poursuivre ces dernières jusqu'à la victoire finale:

Mais la *nouvelle signification* que la "révolution" veut imprimer à la date est celle de la "confraternisation" entre le capital et le travail. La nouvelle signification que l'on prétend donner au mouvement syndical est celle de la collaboration entre le travail et le capital. Un des principaux buts du régime érigé par les putschistes d'avril (le coup d'Etat eut lieu en avril 64) est celui de garantir et d'intensifier l'exploitation de la classe ouvrière et des masses travailleuses. Et la "dictature" militaire prétend que les travailleurs... «collaborent», qu'ils consentent d'être chaque jour plus exploités...

Dans les deux dernières années, les salaires réels, subirent une baisse, et en ce qui concerne les salaires minimums la chute fut sensible. En 1965, l'inflation, prévue par le gouvernement devrait être de 25%, mais en réalité atteignit les 45%; et en 1966, alors que le chiffre officiel devrait être de 10%, il s'éleva en fait à 40%. Ces données montrent clairement que la politique des salaires suivie par l'actuelle dictature mènent à une vraie confiscation des salaires. Il n'y a pas eu de changement. D'ailleurs, le gouvernement Costa e Silva se présente lui-même comme une continuité de la "révolution", la continuation du gouvernement Castelo Branco.

Il s'agit à peine d'une nouvelle phase. Avant c'était la phase d'imposition du nouveau régime fascistoïde, antiouvrier, antinational. Maintenant c'est la phase de la consolidation du même régime. Signalons qu'il y a à peine un changement de méthode. Le "culte de l'impopularité" de Castelo Branco a été substitué par la démagogie de Costa e Silva. De là s'ensuit la soi-disant "reprise du dialogue" avec les travailleurs.

Il est indispensable de démasquer la démagogie de Costa e Silva, ainsi que celle de

son Ministre du Travail, en démontrant à quoi se réduisent leur promesses et en quoi consiste la politique des salaires par eux appliquée. Cela est d'autant plus nécessaire que l'offensive contre les droits des travailleurs va se poursuivre. Les idéologues de la bourgeoisie proclament qu'au Brésil les conséquences de ce qu'ils appellent la récession économique sont supérieures qu'ailleurs, parce que les patrons sont obligés de payer les salaires, même lorsqu'il n'y a pas de travail pour les ouvriers. En invoquant de tels prétextes, on prépare la voie à de nouvelles lois destinées à décharger davantage encore le poids de l'inflation sur les épaules de la classe ouvrière et de provoquer une chute plus accentuée du salaire réel.

Tout en démasquant la démagogie de Costa e Silva, de façon à éliminer toute illusion, il faut en même temps savoir utiliser la soi-disant reprise du dialogue pour intensifier la lutte des travailleurs. Le gouvernement veut que les travailleurs parlent? Très bien. Que les travailleurs participent de la vie syndicale, qu'ils proclament leur point de vue en ce qui concerne la vie chère, les bas salaires, qu'ils se prononcent en faveur d'un meilleur niveau de vie, de la liberté syndicale, contre l'ingérence du Ministère du Travail et de la police; et pour l'abolition du certificat idéologique. L'essentiel, comme le proclame la Résolution Politique du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Brésilien de Juin 1966, c'est d'organiser et d'unifier les travailleurs; d'intensifier leurs luttes en défense de leurs intérêts économiques et politiques. C'est en appliquant cette Résolution que les communistes mèneront les travailleurs à faire face à la démagogie et à la politique de Costa e Silva, à développer leurs luttes et à intensifier le combat au régime fascistoïde et antiouvrier érigé par les putschistes d'avril.

## TOUTE NOTRE SOLIDARITÉ AUX GUÉRILLEROS DE CAPARAO

A la veille de la Conférence de Punta del Este et peu de jours avant l'installation du gouvernement du nouvel agent de la dictature, le Maréchal Costa e Silva, la Police Militaire de l'Etat de Minas Gerais, sous l'orientation d'officiers yanquis, découvrit et emprisonna un petit groupe de guérilleros, campé à la montagne de Caparaó. Il s'agissait de douze à quatorze patriotes, dont la majorité était d'ex-militaires expulsés des Forces Armées, en conséquence du coup d'état d'avril 1964, et fait prisonniers sans aucune résistance.

Cela néanmoins fut suffisant pour mettre sur pied une opération militaire de grande envergure. Des milliers de soldats des trois armes, ainsi que des policiers, furent dépêchés sur la région des "guérillas". Des "colaboracionistes" furent découverts parmi les civils et arrêtés. Une vaste action policière fut menée à Rio, S. Paulo, dans les Etats de Rio Grande do Sul, Espirito Santo, Minas Gerais, à la recherche de "ramifications". Sous ce prétexte d'innombrables violences furent commises et de nombreuses personnes arrêtées et torturées. Le tout méritant une tapageuse publicité de la presse.

La répression fut telle qu'un sergent, mem-

bre du groupe de guérilleros ne résista pas à la rigueur des sévices et trouva la mort en pleine torture. Naturellement, il fut rencontré mort dans sa geôle où il s'était pendu en se servant de linges attachés au robinet. Naturellement aussi, la féconde imagination des agents du gouvernement laissa incrédule et indignée l'opinion publique, qui ajoute un martyr de plus à la liste des crimes commis par la dictature. Voilà des nouveaux exploits de la dictature. Dictature avec Castelo, Branco et Costa e Silva. La substitution des noms ne change en rien le régime, qui reste le même, sémant l'arbitre, la terreur, le crime et livrant nos richesses à l'impérialisme américain.

Quelques que soient nos divergences quant aux méthodes d'actions des guérillas de Caparaó, il incombe aux communistes et aux démocrates de mettre en action un large mouvement de solidarité aux familles des nouvelles victimes de la dictature. C'est aussi le devoir des communistes et des démocrates de tout faire, afin d'obtenir la mise en liberté des patriotes de Caparaó, ainsi que de tous ceux qui dépérissent dans les geôles de la dictature.

## DEFENDRE CUBA CONTRE UNE NOUVELLE AGRESSION IMPERIALISTE.

Le gouvernement marionnette du Venezuela, après maintes démarches, obtint la convocation d'une Réunion du Conseil Consultif de l'OEAS, dont le but est, — basé sur une pseudo-intervention de Cuba dans les problèmes internes de son pays, — de mettre en œuvre des sanctions collectives contre l'héroïque nation du Caribe. Quoique la manœuvre ait échoué, puisque

la réunion a eu une très modeste répercussion et ses effets s'avèrent peu utiles, il faut voir là une vraie manœuvre provocatrice, dont le but est:

1. — intensifier l'agression à Cuba sous le drapeau de l'OEAS;
2. — donner un nouvel élan à la création de la "Force Inter-Américaine de Paix", ve-

ritable force de police destinée à la répression du mouvement patriotique en Amérique Latine;

3. justifier les violences déchainées contre le peuple du Venezuela par le gouvernement Leonil.

Le gouvernement brésilien a donné son appui à de telles manœuvres honteuses, ce qui révèle bien ce que signifie sa "politique externe de souveraineté et développement vouée aux intérêts nationaux".

Cuba socialiste n'est-elle pas le meilleur exemple dans le Continent, d'indépendance, de souveraineté et de soucis de son peuple?

Le gouvernement brésilien, qui parle d'élargir les relations commerciales avec tous les pays, continue à être aveugle au marché cubain dont le développement se poursuit sans interruption, et qui serait capable de consommer de nombreux produits de notre

exportation, tout simplement parce que cela correspond aux intérêts de la politique impérialiste du gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Cette même attitude est appliquée à la Chine Populaire, sans parler de l'ignoble position de sympathie de la dictature vis-à-vis de l'agression américaine au Vietnam.

Les intérêts des peuples d'Amérique Latine, opprimés et exploités par les monopoles et le gouvernement de Washington, avec la connivence des oligarchies locales, se confondent avec les intérêts du peuple cubain.

Devant la nouvelle menace qui pèse sur la révolution cubaine, il est de notre devoir d'intensifier le mouvement de solidarité à Cuba socialiste, afin que l'action populaire exige du gouvernement brésilien, non seulement de cesser toute complicité avec l'impérialisme, mais que soient rétablies les relations diplomatiques, commerciales et culturelles avec ce pays ami.

## LA CLASSE OUVRIERE FETE LE PREMIER MAI

Malgré la rigueur et tous les obstacles interposés par le gouvernement et la police, les travailleurs n'ont pas manqué de fêter avec esprit de classe la date du 1er Mai. Lorsqu'il fut clair que toute manifestation de rue était interdite, la classe ouvrière organisa, dans toutes les grandes villes, des meetings à huit-clos et même dans des églises. Fait intéressant, mêmes les syndicats et les Fédérations sous contrôle officiel ne manquèrent pas, sous la pression de masse, comme c'est le cas du CNTI (Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs de l'Industrie), d'inclure dans ses déclarations quelques justes revendications ouvrières. A Rio, 18 organisations syndicales avaient organisé un meeting à l'Association Brésilienne

de Presse. Un manifeste fut lancé, rédigé par des vrais représentants ouvriers, parmi lesquels se trouvaient des communistes, dans lequel figuraient les principales exigences économiques et politiques des travailleurs. Sous la menace de la police, quelques défections eurent lieu, ce qui n'empêcha pas la réalisation de la fonction publique, où ne manqua pas la présence d'importantes forces de répression. Celles-ci ne respectèrent même pas une cérémonie religieuse, organisée par des ouvriers catholiques, dans l'église principale de Rio, la Candelária.

A S. Paulo, Santos, ainsi que dans d'autres villes, les travailleurs, malgré la simplicité des fonctions publiques, firent preuve de

fermété et signalèrent clairement leur revendications. A Belo Horizonte, capitale de l'Etat de Minas Gerais, un dirigeant ouvrier sans appartenance politique, pu parler en public à plus de 8 mil travailleurs, dans un langage digne d'admiration.

Les communistes participèrent activement à toutes ces manifestations. Quelques jours avant, le Comité Central du Parti Communiste Brésilien avait lancé une proclamation aux travailleurs, qui les conclamaît à s'unir « en défense de leurs droits, de leurs intérêts, de la liberté et l'autonomie syndicale, contre la confiscation des salaires, ainsi que de ne pas se soumettre aux

restrictions que la dictature prétend imposer ». La proclamation des communistes, largement distribuée, terminait ainsi: "Travailleurs: Commémorons la date internationale du prolétariat avec élan et confiance dans l'avenir. Les succès conquis par les travailleurs dans la lutte contre l'impérialisme et la construction du socialisme donnent force à notre propre lutte. Le principal ennemi de la classe ouvrière et des peuples est le même dans le monde entier".

Les manifestations signalées prouvent que la classe ouvrière et les travailleurs ont été sensibles à l'appel du Comité Central du Parti Communiste Brésilien.

## LES ETUDIANTS EN LUTTE CONTRE LA DICTATURE

Le nouveau gouvernement, qui avait promis de "dialoguer" avec les étudiants et de prendre note de leurs revendications, intensifia en réalité la violence et la répression à la jeunesse. Les manifestations pacifiques des étudiants terminent invariablement par des luttes avec la police, qui les dissout en s'utilisant des casse-têtes, de gaz lacrimogène, de coups de feu, sans parler des prisons et des procès qui s'ensuivent, basés sur la "Loi de Sécurité Nationale".

Les étudiants patriotes de tout le pays s'adonnent, non seulement aux problèmes qui leur sont propres, mais aussi ils mènent la lutte contre la politique du gouvernement, se réclament des libertés et s'opposent avec vigueur à l'exploitation de notre peuple par l'impérialisme, l'américain en premier lieu.

En ce moment ils mettent l'accent sur la lutte contre l'accord conclu entre le Ministère de l'Education et l'Agence Américaine

d'Aide (accord connu par l'abréviation MEC-USAID), qui pratiquement sommet tout notre enseignement supérieur à l'orientation de techniciens américains. Les étudiants comprennent bien qu'il s'agit là d'une vraie tentative de dénationaliser notre culture. C'est pour cela que les grèves universitaires se succèdent, avec l'occupation des Facultés dans divers Etats, comme au Ceará, Pernambuco, Minas Gerais, Guanabara, S. Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul et à Brasília. En représailles, le gouvernement suspend les cours. A Pernambuco, les policiers furieux n'hésitèrent pas à envahir la Chambre de Députés locale, pour sévir contre les étudiants qui s'y étaient réfugiés. A S. Paulo, les étudiants, qui occupaient la Faculté d'Architecture et Urbanisme, furent délogés de la façon la plus brutale. A Guanabara, la violence n'est pas moindre. Récemment, un cortège d'étudiants qui protestait pacifiquement contre la démolition de leur restaurant, fut assailli à coup de matraques et violemment dispersé.

Les jeunes commencent à perdre patience. Ils tâchent de mieux s'organiser et de faire face à l'agression fortuite de la police de façon plus réaliste, comme on le vit à Belo Horizonte. A Brasilia, lors de la cérémonie de remise de livres à la Bibliothèque Universitaire par l'Ambassadeur américain, celui-ci fut flûment hué, et le drapeau yanqui incendié, malgré l'intervention et la violence de la police. Le drapeau américain a été aussi incendié à Rio, S. Paulo, Belo Horizonte et d'autres villes, en place publique. C'est une des façons que les jeunes trouvent de manifester leur haine à ceux qui nous exploitent, et de protester contre l'agression américaine contre l'héroïque peuple du Vietnam. La guerre du Vietnam préoccupe chaque jour davantage notre jeunesse, qui y voit une menace à la paix mondiale, et s'attache à multiplier les formes de solidarité aux vietnamiens et de flétrir l'action des agresseurs.

Une autre problème qui remplit d'indignation les étudiants est la campagne de stérilisation des femmes, menée par des missionnaires et des médecins américains. Cette campagne est menée dans les zones rurales, où les femmes sont souvent isolées. Les missionnaires américains, qui sont souvent des femmes, utilisent des méthodes de persuasion et de menace pour convaincre les femmes de se faire stériliser. Elles leur offrent des cadeaux, des vêtements, des médicaments, et leur promettent de leur faire des enfants plus tard. Elles leur disent que la stérilisation est une opération simple et sans douleur, et qu'elle leur permettra d'éviter les complications de la grossesse et de l'accouchement. Elles leur disent aussi que la stérilisation est une opération qui leur permettra de mieux contrôler leur vie sexuelle et leur vie familiale. Elles leur disent que la stérilisation est une opération qui leur permettra d'éviter les complications de la grossesse et de l'accouchement. Elles leur disent aussi que la stérilisation est une opération qui leur permettra de mieux contrôler leur vie sexuelle et leur vie familiale.

naires américains et des membres du "Corps de la Paix", avec la connivence de mauvais brésiliens. Les étudiants s'opposent, comme tant d'autres patriotes, à cette stérilisation en masse de nos femmes, qui se propose de freiner le développement de notre population, alors que des Etats comme Mato Grosso et Amazonas ont une densité de population d'un demi-habitant par Km<sup>2</sup>. Les étudiants sentent les conséquences de la néfaste politique du gouvernement. Costa e Silva et de l'exploitation contre nous menée par les monopoles américains. Contre ces deux ennemis, ils déclarent une guerre sans trêve et sans merci.

Il va sans dire que les communistes participent de très près de toutes ces activités de la jeunesse universitaire. Foit intéressant à signaler c'est que l'opinion publique, ainsi que l'Eglise, leur sont favorables et souvent les appuient directement.

Comme on le voit, l'activité des étudiants représente une précieuse contribution aux justes luites de notre classe ouvrière et de notre peuple. Les étudiants sont conscients de leur rôle et ils le jouent avec courage et détermination. Ils ne se contentent pas de protester, ils agissent. Ils organisent des manifestations, des grèves, des campagnes de sensibilisation. Ils travaillent à éveiller la conscience de leur peuple et à le mobiliser contre l'oppression américaine. Ils sont conscients que leur lutte est une lutte pour la liberté, pour la justice, pour la paix.

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# ROUTE ON ENVELOPE

9/18/67

airtel

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

To: SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

From: Director, FBI (100-428091) 6508

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 9/15/67 which sets forth various proposals for CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S to obtain new passports.

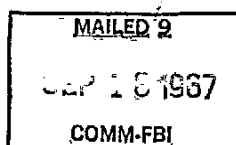
The Bureau agrees to the informants obtaining new passports under the Sydney Smith Lesser legend in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, while en route to New York City. Therefore, informant should be instructed to obtain these passports when next en route to New York on official business.

RCP:cst  
(4)

## NOTE:

Chicago initially proposed sending informants to San Francisco in order to secure new passports under a new legend for proposed trip to Soviet Union in mid-October, 1967. Bureau denied permission for informants to utilize this procedure because of excessive cost. Informants must travel to New York City to be briefed by Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, prior to departing for Soviet Union. If they stop off at the Passport Office Agency in Philadelphia, passports under the new legend can be secured with adequate security and at a minimum expense to the Bureau. New legend is necessary since informants have made four trips under old legend.

~~TOP SECRET~~



Classified by 7157  
Exempt from GDS, Category 243  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

6 SEP 22 1967 TELETYPE UNIT

Document downgraded to Secret  
per 100-428091-6508

CB/PT

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 9/15/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS - C

*C.D. B. [unclear]*  
*S-R. [unclear]*

Re Chicago teletype to Bureau dated 9/14/67 and telephone calls from the Bureau to Chicago 9/15/67, concerning travel by CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S to San Francisco, California, for the purpose of obtaining passports in the name of their new Solo legend, SYDNEY SMITH LESSER and EVALIN LESSER, nee JESKI, 108 Gentry Court, Roselle, Illinois.

In accordance with instructions by referenced Bureau telephone call 9/15/67, CG 5824-S\* was instructed this date that he and his wife are not to travel to San Francisco as contemplated on 9/17/67. *e*

*D* This office has given careful consideration to the manner in which the new legend should be activated by CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S. In particular consideration has been given to the location at which application for these passports should be made. According to information from the Passport Office of the U.S. Department of State, passport agencies at which passports may be obtained are located in the following cities:

1 - 904, 9+0  
 ③ - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - Chicago

REC 3 100-428091-6508

WAB:mes  
 (4)

6 SEP 19 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

*Model to SAC, CH  
 RCP: [unclear]  
 9/18/67*



CG 134-46 Sub B

Boston, Massachusetts  
Chicago, Illinois  
Honolulu, Hawaii  
Los Angeles, California  
Miami, Florida  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
New York, New York  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
San Francisco, California  
Seattle, Washington  
Washington, D.C.

It is noted that applicants for passports need not appear in any of these cities in order to obtain a passport. An applicant may execute the application in the presence of a clerk of a federal court or a state court having naturalization jurisdiction. However, such applications are not processed in any manner by such receiving individuals but are forwarded by mail either to Washington, D.C., or in some cases to a regional office where such have been established to handle applications in surrounding states. In this event, the actual passport itself will bear the stamp of either Washington, D.C., or the regional office where such is applicable.

This office has considered the possibility of these two informants obtaining their passports through the procedure outlined in the preceding paragraph and finds that this procedure has several drawbacks. The Chicago Passport Agency has been designated as a regional center for six or eight states surrounding the Chicago area. Were we to direct these informants to make application before a federal or state court in a city in one of the near surrounding states, the passport itself would appear the same as if it was obtained by personal appearance before the passport office in Chicago, Illinois, which we consider undesirable for reasons which will be set forth hereinafter. Furthermore, this procedure is handled by mail with the passport eventually being mailed to the home address of the applicant and the entire procedure

CG 134-46 Sub B

usually takes about two weeks as opposed to a period of only two or three days when the application is made in person. Since the Solo legend address is in the Chicago area, it would be a most unnatural way for a Chicago area resident to make application for a passport.

Relative to those cities which have passport agencies, there are several factors which would make some of them undesirable as a place of application by these two informants. It must be borne in mind that this informant is acting as an undercover agent engaging in an illegal activity and, therefore, must be expected by the Russians to act in a highly cautious manner to escape detection by U.S. intelligence agencies. Upon his arrival in the USSR, the informants' passports are delivered into the custody of the Soviet Intelligence Agency and it can be expected that they are subjected to some scrutiny. For example, we know from CG 5824-S\* that false visas, entry and exit stamps, etc., are placed in these passports in order to cover up the fact that these informants spend such extended periods within the socialist orbit.

First of all, from a security standpoint, Chicago, Illinois, would constitute an extremely hazardous office for CG 5824-S\* to use in obtaining a false passport. For him to do so would strike the Russians as an extremely risky step for an experienced individual like CG 5824-S\*. The possibility of discovery while making application under a fictitious identity in his own home town would be much too great. We realize, however, that in July, 1967, under the emergency conditions prevailing whereby CG 6653-S was being prepared for an anticipated immediate emergency flight to Prague, Czechoslovakia, this office made arrangements whereby these informants could obtain new legend passports in Chicago without subjecting themselves to this very real jeopardy. It was recognized at that time that to obtain these passports with a Chicago stamp would be a poor method but we were faced with an emergency situation and it was the best that could be accomplished on such short notice. The informant would have

CG 134-46 Sub B

to fall back on the explanation that application had actually been made in some other city before a federal or state court rather than by personal appearance in Chicago. While we may consider this a logical explanation, there may be some doubt about its acceptability by the Russians.

Certainly, Los Angeles, California, should be ruled out as an office through which application should be made. This is the office at which these informants obtained their original and renewal of the passports under the last cover legend in the names of HAROLD and GENKA JULES. The risk of recognition by personnel in that office rules that city out of our consideration.

At the present time Miami, Florida and New Orleans, Louisiana, are the centers of intensive Cuban activity and we could anticipate that the Russian intelligence services would expect that U.S. intelligence agencies would closely scrutinize such activities as this in those cities. Therefore, both Miami and New Orleans are presently excluded from our consideration of passport offices for use by these two informants.

The Russians have specifically instructed CG 5824-S\* to remain away from New York, New York, and Washington, D.C., in connection with his illegal travels. This prohibition is likewise extended to the securing of his illegal passport and, therefore, both New York and Washington are excluded from our consideration.

Of course, by the very distance involved Honolulu, Hawaii, is excluded from consideration.

Since Boston, Massachusetts, has been the port of exit and entry of CG 5824-S\* on a number of Solo Missions under the old legend, and in view of the fact that the passport office in that city does relatively small volume thus giving their personnel greater opportunity for closer scrutiny and questioning of the informants, we

CG 134-46 Sub B

deemed it advisable not to direct our informant to obtain passports in that city.

The remaining offices for consideration are, therefore, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, San Francisco, California and Seattle, Washington. In view of the relatively smaller volume of passports issued through the passport offices at Philadelphia and Seattle which constitutes a disadvantage as set forth above, it would appear that San Francisco would be the logical office through which our informants should obtain the passports. However, there is a major disadvantage in using San Francisco, which is the extensive travel and expense entailed in sending our informants to San Francisco to obtain these passports. This major disadvantage is equally applicable to the office located in Seattle. Therefore, the office which presents the least disadvantage is the office located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In view of the necessity for CG 5824-S\* to spend an extended period in consultations with GUS HALL prior to his departure on the next Solo Mission and because he expects to attend the next meeting of the National Executive Board of the Communist Party, USA, in New York City now scheduled 10/10-12/67, it is anticipated that CG 5824-S\* will depart for New York City on or shortly after the weekend of 9/23-24/67. In consequence of all the above considerations, this office recommends that CG 5824-S\* be instructed to divert his travel to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, either en route to or returning from New York City for the purpose of obtaining their passports at the passport agency in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Bureau is respectfully requested to advise the Chicago Office if this plan is acceptable by 9/22/67 so that CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S can make their travel plans accordingly.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York

9/19/67

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

*BP*  
*0*  
SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In accordance with the decisions reached at the recent conference on the Solo Operation at the Seat of Government, New York and Chicago should submit recommendations designed to bolster the profit-making facility of the cover company in order to make it self-sufficient or at least decrease the Bureau subsidy.

2 - Chicago

RCP:cst *cst*  
(7)

NOTE:

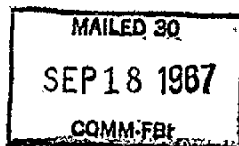
The conferees agreed that it was essential to increase the profit of the cover company not only to cut down on the Bureau's subsidy, but to insure that it could provide adequate cover for the informants. In line with this decision, we are soliciting recommendations for possible improvement in the operation of the cover company.

*l*

*Pen*  
*gal*  
REC 3

100-428091-6509

6 SEP 19 1967



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
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*6* SEP 22 1967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

2511 35-1-1

*WBAH*  
*7*

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York

9/19/67

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In accordance with the decisions made at the recent conference at the Seat of Government on the Solo Operation, you are instructed to submit your recommendations concerning the proposed changes for the handling of funds given to the informants for transmittal to the Communist Party, USA.

1 - Chicago

RCP:est  
(5)

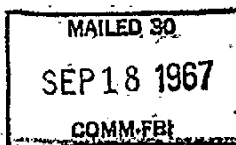
## NOTE:

At the recent conference, New York representatives indicated that current procedure for recording serial numbers of bills furnished informants for transmittal to Party leaders was cumbersome, time consuming, and costly. In view of the necessity for concentrating on the apparatus phase of the operation, consideration should be given to changing these procedures. To insure there is no misunderstanding concerning present procedures and proposed changes, New York is being instructed to submit its recommendations.

REC 3 100-428091-6510

SEP 19 1967

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100-428091-6510  
SEP 19 1967

SEP 19 3 52 PM '67

6 SEP 22 1967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

# ROUTE ~~Q~~ ENVELOPE

SAC, New York

9/19/67

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

*ST*  
SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In accordance with recent conference held at the Seat of Government concerning the Solo Operation, recipient offices should advise the Bureau of the status of discussions with informants concerning conversion of retirement fund to United States savings bonds.

2 - Chicago

RCP:cst *car*  
(6)

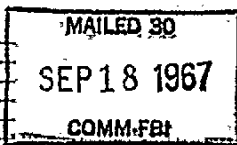
NOTE:

*pen*  
*fw*  
The aforementioned conference thoroughly discussed proposals for converting informants' retirement funds to United States savings bonds. At the present time, each informant gets \$100 a month paid to a bank account for eventual retirement. Interest earned on these bank accounts is recorded as income by the SAC of the New York and Chicago Offices on their personal income tax forms. They are subsequently reimbursed by the Bureau for this expenditure. The conversion of these bank accounts to United States savings bonds would eliminate the necessity of continuing with this procedure, which in addition to being costly has an element of danger connected with it. *Q*

REC 3 100-428091-6511

6 SEP 19 1967

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6 SEP 22 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEP 19 3 51 PM '67

*ABH* *EL*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Conrad *Jwe*

DATE: September 19, 1967

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 9/19/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

## ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo; Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:trs *me*  
(7)  
*Downing* *m*

EX 106

REC-58

100-428091-6512

6 SEP 21 1967

6 SEP 25 1967



OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-107-02

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 9/22/67

CB  
cut  
R. C. [signature]

~~SECRET~~

5-

Re previous correspondence relating to the investigation being conducted by the SEC relative to alleged manipulation of stocks being traded on the American Stock Exchange.

For the information of the Bureau and New York, there is set forth below information furnished by CG 5824-S\* on September 21, 1967.

During a recent visit to the home of IRVING PROJANSKY, the informant's brother-in-law and one of those indicted in the current investigation, CG 5824-S\* had been in a position to overhear a conversation being conducted in an adjoining room between PROJANSKY and several other individuals involved in the current case. CG 5824-S\* cannot vouch for the authenticity of the information and is somewhat vague in regard to certain details. Informant advised that he did not hear all of the conversation and, therefore, some of the information which he obtained may have been heard out of context and in all likelihood is incomplete in some respects. However, to the best of the informant's recollection, the following was the substance of the discussion:

During the course of this investigation, [redacted] a Chicago stock broker or customer's man, was interviewed on a number of occasions by the office of the USA in New York City. After a great deal of browbeating by the government attorneys, [redacted] agreed to furnish statements and to testify to numerous facts and details concerning an alleged conspiracy, whether or not these facts were actually true. With the assistance of [redacted] the federal attorneys also persuaded another Chicago broker or customer's man to do the same. This individual is a young man, well known to [redacted] who is, like [redacted] of Greek descent.

b6  
b7C

- ②-Bureau (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

WAB/MDW

(4)

Classified by 7339  
Exempt from GDS, Category 23  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

REC-11 100-428091-6513

6 SEP 26 1967



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

70 OCT 3 1967

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CG 134-46 Sub B

~~TOP SECRET~~

Subsequently, [ ] became aware that indictments had been prepared by the Federal Grand Jury in New York which included [ ] as a defendant. [ ] immediately went to AUSA PAUL GRAND and threatened to "blow the whistle" unless his name was removed as a defendant in this case. Accordingly, GRAND went back to the Grand Jury and had a new indictment signed deleting [ ] as a defendant and naming him only as an unindicted co-conspirator.

The young Greek had no such foreknowledge concerning the indictment and he, therefore, was named in the indictment which was handed down. This man became incensed and immediately went to EDWARD HANRAHAN, the USA in Chicago, and informed HANRAHAN of the fact that the indictment actually constituted a frameup arranged by the AUSAs in New York using false statements coerced from [ ] and himself. HANRAHAN referred this man to a prominent Chicago attorney who agreed to handle his case, and it is expected that some legal or public action will soon be taken to expose this frameup.

b6  
b7C

CG 5824-S\* stated that the above is all he can recall concerning this conversation which he overheard. He stated that he expects a "bombshell" to go off in this case any day now.

We have reviewed the identities of the 16 individuals who were indicted in the Hercules Galion stock fraud case and the only individuals outside of the PROJANSKY circle (with whom we have been concerned) who are from Chicago and who have not pled guilty are GERALD LEAVITT of Glencoe, Illinois, and ZAFE ZAFER of Chicago. Newspaper articles identify LEAVITT as a relative of MARK ROLLAND (who pled guilty on September 19, 1967). Newspapers identify ZAFE ZAFER as a Chicago salesman for Hornblower and Weeks, Inc., a member firm of the New York Stock Exchange. We believe it is likely that the [ ] is identical with [ ] who may also be identical with [ ] at Chicago, to whom there are several references in CGfiles.

b6  
b7C

One [ ] was identified as attending the wedding reception on May 14, 1967, for the daughter of [ ] an official of Local 46 of the Laundry Workers Union, and the son of [ ]

One [ ] appeared in the Chicago Office on February 18, 1957, and furnished a signed statement explaining several answers which he had given on a questionnaire he was required to answer by the Selective Service System. He had indicated attendance at activities sponsored by organizations which were designated by the Attorney General. He indicated

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CG 134-46 Sub B

~~TOP SECRET~~

they were social affairs which he had attended out of curiosity and he wished this to be a matter of record.

CG 5824-S\* additionally advised that the wife of IRVING PROJANSKY is about to have a nervous breakdown and has been visiting a psychiatrist.

CG 5824-S\* stated he was informed by PROJANSKY that after entering a plea of not guilty, the defendants were given 90 days within which to file motions before the court. The defendants were released on their own recognizance in spite of requests by AUSA PAUL GRAND for bond of \$20,000 each and a period of 30 days within which to file motions.

According to PROJANSKY, the attorneys for the First National Bank of Lincolnwood are in the process of preparing a civil suit for recovery of damages against ARTHUR KELLER (who pled guilty to one count in this case), which action was recommended by the National Bank Examiners sometime ago.

The Bureau and New York will be kept advised of future developments as they occur.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 9/13/67

REC-75

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ReBulet to CG, 6/7/67, copy to NY, enclosing CIA letter dated 5/26/67, latter letter requesting information concerning Soviets associated with the Institute of International Workers Movement.

Reference also NY airtel to Bureau, 6/26/67, furnishing information requested by the aforementioned CIA letter.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and four copies of an LHM captioned "Institute of International Workers Movement," containing supplementary information regarding TIMUR/TIMOFEYEV, Director of the aforementioned Institute of International Workers Movement, which should be of interest to CIA.

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was obtained from NY 694-S\*.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein was obtained from NY 694-S\*, and could result in the identification of said informant, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international

1- 904, 9+D with Encl.

3- Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)  
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)  
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb  
 (6)

1 cc of encl. to State + CIA

EX-103  
 REC-75

100-428091-65 14

6 SEP 27 1967

660073 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

NY 100-134637

Communist movement, and since such disclosure could adversely affect the national security.

In the interest of security, the LHM is being datelined Washington, D. C.



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
September 13, 1967

\*  
Institute of International  
Workers Movement

USSR

In September, 1967, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

The source is intimately acquainted with Timur Timofeyev, Director of the Soviet Institute of International Workers Movement. Timofeyev "melts" in the presence of attractive women, and continually seeks them, within and outside the Soviet Union. Although married, and the father of a child, he has numerous mistresses and does not hesitate to visit brothels, particularly when he is travelling outside the Soviet Union. The source, on occasion, has been present at drinking parties where Timofeyev has identified women as his mistresses.

Timofeyev's wife is aware that he is "a playboy" and, in the source's opinion, eventually will divorce him or seek a legal separation.

The source feels that careful exploitation of Timofeyev's erotic proclivities could elicit valuable information since his associates are, for the most part, Soviets holding important positions in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Soviet government. The source noted that Timofeyev is particularly friendly with the Soviet in charge of the Soviet missile program (Soviet not further identified), and with the son of top-ranking Soviet official Mikhail Suslov. Both of these individuals reside in the apartment house where Timofeyev lives, a house reserved for top-ranking Soviets.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~ENCLOSURE~~  
~~SECRET~~  
GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-428071-6514

## FBI ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 9/20/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

S. R. Paterson

Re previous correspondence with the Bureau and New York concerning investigation by the SEC and the Office of the USA for the SDNY into alleged manipulation of stocks being traded on the American Stock Exchange.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York is one Xerox copy each of articles on this subject which appeared in the "Wall Street Journal" and the "New York Times" both dated 9/20/67. Both these articles concern appearance of some of the individuals indicted in this case for the purpose of entering pleas. Additional articles relative to this matter appeared in the local Chicago newspapers but have not been included herewith since they add no additional information. These articles were called to the attention of CG 5824-S\* on 9/20/67 and he advised that the substance of these articles does not affect his previous judgments relative to this case. CG 5824-S\* stated that on the evening of 9/19/67 he had attempted to discuss this subject with IRVING PROJANSKY, one of those indicted who had entered a plea of not guilty, but had been unable to do so. At such time as CG 5824-S\* informs us of any pertinent comments he elicits from PROJANSKY, the Bureau and New York will be so informed.

1-904, 9+0  
③-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago  
WAB:MDW  
(5)

EX-103 REC-75

100-428091-6515

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

SEP 27 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

62 OCT 6

1967

ENCLOSURES (2) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

2 Xerox copies of articles from "Wall Street Journal" and "New York Times" re stock manipulation matter

RE: SOLO  
IS-C

Bufile 100-428091  
CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGairtel to Bureau 9/20/67

179



100-4-8211-6515

ENCLOSURE



## Four of 16 in Hercules Galion Stock Case Plead Guilty to Some Counts in U.S. Court

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

NEW YORK—Four of 16 bankers, brokers and businessmen indicted on fraud and conspiracy charges in the alleged manipulation of stock of Hercules Galion Products Inc. pleaded guilty to some of the charges in Federal Court.

Among those entering guilty pleas to one count in the indictment was Arthur Keller, former president of the First National Bank of Lincolnwood, Ill. Mr. Keller pleaded not guilty to the 13 other counts in which he was named. He had been cited by the Government as a key figure in the case.

Paul Grand, an assistant U.S. attorney, said out of court that the Government expects "there will be more guilty pleas" in the case.

Also pleading guilty to one count each were Mark Rolland, a Chicago money lender, and Spero Furla, formerly a customers' man in Chicago for Douglas Securities Corp. Both pleaded not guilty to two other counts naming them.

David Zisteln, formerly a customers' man at Reynolds & Co., pleaded guilty to both counts on which he was indicted.

Irving Projansky, chairman of the Lincolnwood bank, and a director of Hercules Galion, was one of the five defendants who pleaded not guilty at the arraignment.

Two other defendants are scheduled to appear in court tomorrow, and five others who failed to enter pleas yesterday are to appear Oct. 4.

Federal Judge Sidney Sugarman set Dec. 26 to hear motions in the case. He released all defendants on their own recognizance, although the Government had requested bail ranging from \$5,000 to \$20,000 each.

It's assumed by court observers that defendants pleading guilty are cooperating with the Government in the case. This is the second in-

dictment obtained by Federal prosecutors in New York in an investigation of alleged price manipulation of shares of at least seven stocks traded on the American Stock Exchange.

The earlier indictment charged stock rigging in shares of Pentron Electronics Corp. Both Mr. Rolland and Mr. Furla have pleaded guilty in that case.

The alleged scheme in the Hercules case is said to have involved the purchase of 250,000 shares by the defendants, who traded this stock in a "pool" and then dumped it. Hercules had 983,547 shares outstanding at the time.

According to the indictment, the plot started at the Lincolnwood bank and spread to a point where scores of customers' men were offered

board of directors and chairman of its executive committee if the merger becomes effective.

After two below-par years, Morroh reported a sharp earnings gain in the first half of fiscal 1967. For the 26 weeks ended April 29, the company earned \$2,548,674, or \$2.02 a share, compared with a loss of \$1,158,031 a year earlier. Sales fell slightly to \$391,237,092 from \$402,272,439.

In 1965 the company sustained a loss of \$345,000. The following year it made some improvement but finished with a below-par annual profit of \$625,000, up 55 cents a share.

## Former Banker Pleads Guilty To Amex Stock Manipulation

By TERRY ROBARDS

Arthur Keller, former president of the First National Bank of Lincolnwood, in Lincolnwood, Ill., pleaded guilty yesterday in Federal court here to manipulating the stock of Hercules Gallon Products, Inc., on the American Stock Exchange.

Keller, 53 years old, was one of four defendants who entered guilty pleas to various counts of a 14-count indictment handed down by a Federal grand jury Aug. 23 after a year-long investigation.

It was Keller who, along with Irving Projansky, the bank's chairman, originated the plot to manipulate the price of Hercules Gallon, according to Paul R. Grand, the Assistant United States Attorney who presented the case to the grand jury.

The three other men who pleaded guilty to certain of the

charges made in the indictment are Mark Rolland, 37, and Spero Furla, 42, both of Chicago, and David Zisfein, 29, of 35 Sutton Place, New York. Rolland and Furla pleaded guilty July 27 to conspiracy in the manipulation of stock of the Pentron Electronics Corporation in a related case.

Ten other defendants in the Hercules Gallon case appeared before United States District Judge Sidney Sugarman yesterday. These defendants either pleaded not guilty to all counts in which they were named or postponed their pleas until a later date.

Mr. Keller specifically pleaded guilty to Count 2 of the indictment, which charged that he and other defendants

Continued on Page 71, Column 3

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1967

## EX-BANKER GUILTY OF STOCK RIGGING

Continued From Page 61

"unlawfully, willfully and knowingly" made transactions in Hercules Gallon that created "actual and apparent active trading" which resulted in "raising the price of such security for the purpose of inducing the purchase of such security by others."

The former bank president pleaded not guilty to all the 13 other counts in the indictment. These counts charged him with conspiracy to manipulate and to commit fraud.

Rolland and Furla pleaded guilty to Count 1 of the indictment which involved conspiracy to manipulate and defraud. They pleaded not guilty to Counts 2 and 4, which charged actual manipulations of the stock.

### The Period Involved

Zisfein pleaded guilty to Counts 1 and 3, involving conspiracy and manipulation. Rolland, Furla and Zisfein were not named in all of the 14 counts of the indictment.

The manipulation of Hercules Gallon stock took place between July, 1965, and March, 1966, according to United States Attorney Robert M. Morgenthau. The indictment alleged that the defendants artificially raised the price of the stock from about \$6.75 a share to \$14.50 a share. The manipulation is believed to have cost the investing public \$4-million.

Pleading not guilty to all of the counts in which they were named were Irving Projansky, 60, the bank's chairman; Harry Brainin, 52, a Chicago businessman, and Stuart Projansky, 36, vice president of the bank and a son of Irving Projansky.

Also entering pleas of not guilty were Fred Weitz, 48, a Chicago dental surgeon who is a director of the Lincolnwood bank, and Herbert Werman, 32, a former stockbroker and advertising agency executive who lives in Monsey, N. Y. Two other defendants are scheduled to enter pleas tomorrow and four more are to plead on Oct. 4.

All of the defendants who appeared yesterday were released in their own recognizance, although Mr. Grand had requested that bail be required for some of them.

The defendants who were stockbrokers were offered "various inducements" to assist in rigging the price of Hercules Gallon, a Gallon, Ohio, manufacturer of dump truck bodies and hydraulic hoists, according to the United States Attorney.

Those inducements allegedly ranged from options on Hercules Gallon stock at prices below the prevailing market price to \$120,000 in cash. Customers of the defendants were induced to buy about 250,000 shares, according to Mr. Morgenthau.

The Federal grand jury is continuing its investigation of alleged manipulations on the American Stock Exchange. The jury is known to be delving into trading activity in at least six issues on the exchange, besides Hercules Gallon and Pentron.

The scope of the investigation, which is being conducted in cooperation with the Securities and Exchange Commission, is known to have been expanded to include certain stocks traded in the over-the-counter market.

100-428091-6515

F B I

Date: 9/22/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

ReCGairtel to Bureau dated 9/15/67 and the two Buairtels dated 9/18/67 relative to proposals for CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S to obtain new passports.

ReBuairtel recalled that the Bureau had authorized expenditure of funds in 9/65 for renewal of the HAROLD JULES passports with the understanding that passports under LESSER legend would be obtained in Chicago, and therefore travel to San Francisco to obtain passports under the LESSER legend would be unnecessary.

The Bureau's attention is respectfully directed to CGairtel dated 9/22/65 submitted immediately prior to the 19th Solo Mission at which time GUS HALL was also contemplating dispatching CG 5824-S\* to attend the 13th Congress of the CP of Chile to be held in Santiago, Chile, 10/11-17/65. Considerations at that time were directed toward the establishment of an additional cover legend for CG 5824-S\* rather than a replacement legend. Chicago had contemplated that CG 5824-S\* would discard this new cover after this one trip and it would

1-904 gus  
3-Bureau (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)

REC-52

100-428091-6516

6 SEP 28 1967

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

57 OCT 2 1967 Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

never be used for a trip to the socialist countries and, therefore, the LESSER passport would not come under the scrutiny of the Soviet Intelligence Services as does the passport he carries on such trips to the Soviet Union. Such circumstances do not apply to the establishment of the LESSER legend at this time since it is being activated as a replacement for the JULES legend which, we believe, has outlived its usefulness.

The suggestion of the Bureau that CG 5824-S\* obtain the LESSER passports in some city closer to Chicago from the Clerk of any Federal or State Court authorized to accept passport applications is appreciated. However, as set forth in CGairtel dated 9/15/67, such offices may only accept the passport applications which are then forwarded to either Washington, D.C., or in some cases to a regional passport office where such has been established to handle applications in surrounding states. Considerations which make obtaining passports in this manner undesirable are set forth in CGairtel dated 9/15/67. Furthermore, the suggestion that the LESSER passports could also be obtained when next the informants are in New York City cannot be acted upon in this instance since the Soviet Intelligence Services have specifically excluded New York City from consideration by the informants.

ReBuairtel dated 9/18/67 requested Chicago to reconcile two seemingly inconsistent statements furnished by Chicago. Chicago teletype dated 9/14/67 set forth that CG 5824-S\* was selected by the CP, USA as a delegate to the 11/7/67 celebration in Moscow, whereas, CGairtel of 9/11/67 sets forth that the CPSU had limited the CP, USA to four delegates and that GUS HALL selected MICKEY LIMA as one delegate since he understood that CG 5824-S\* has a standing invitation from the Soviets to attend the celebration in addition to the four CP, USA delegates. The Bureau, therefore, concluded that it appears that the informant is not a delegate of the CP, USA.

The misunderstanding here appears to arise from the use of the term "delegate." As set forth in CGairtel of 9/11/67, "HALL now understands this invitation to be for four persons plus CG 5824-S\*." As a consequence, the CP, USA will have five persons in attendance at the 11/7/67 celebration. These five persons will constitute the delegation from the CP, USA. Since CG 5824-S\* has a standing invitation to attend, GUS HALL instructed CG 5824-S\* to be there at that time. Thus, it is respectfully

CG 134-46 Sub B

submitted that it is accurate to state that CG 5824-S\* was selected by the CP, USA (actually by GUS HALL) as a delegate to the 11/7 celebration. Of course, as in the past, CG 5824-S\* will attend in a covert status and will not be identified openly as a member of the CP, USA delegation.

Buairtel of 9/18/67 commented on the fact that the information concerning CG 5824-S\*'s travel to the USSR was furnished to this office on 9/6/67 and stated it is difficult to see why it was necessary for Chicago to submit a request for funds for the informants to travel to the West Coast by teletype requiring an expedite answer. While it is true that CG 5824-S\* informed us of this planned travel to the USSR on 9/6/67, it was at that time contemplated that this travel to the USSR would not take place until the latter part of October, more than a month hence. In the course of discussions with CG 5824-S\* on 9/14/67 concerning travel arrangements and securing of passports under the LESSER legend, it was determined that demands upon CG 5824-S\*'s time, including travel to New York City, would consume most of the last week in September and the early part of October, thus requiring an early trip to San Francisco, if indeed the passports were to be obtained in that city. This information was furnished to the Bureau by teletype on the same day received. Every effort will be exerted to insure timely notification to the Bureau in the future.

As the Bureau is aware, Chicago prepared this backup legend in the name of LESSER for CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S in 1965, including all necessary documentation for the informants with the exception of the passport itself, the latter being held in abeyance deliberately until the legend is to be activated in order to make full use of the entire period of its validity. As in the construction of each legend for this informant in the past, this office has always been most careful in the planning of the necessary steps so as to avoid precipitous actions which might jeopardize the informants' security, and the Chicago Office welcomes any suggestions from the Bureau to assist us in this task.

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 9/25/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On 9/25/67, there was received at a New York City drop a letter from WILLIAM KASHTAN, head of the Canadian CP, to GUS HALL, under the latter's pseudonym, HERBERT. The letter is as follows:

"September 18, 1967

"Dear HERBERT:

"We are awaiting word from you whether CLAUDE L. (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) will be available for a public meeting to celebrate the 50th on Nov. 5th in Winnipeg. We had written on this before and our friends in Winnipeg are anxious for a reply so they can publicize it. If he or someone else, can't come they will have to make other arrangements. A quick reply would be appreciated.

"All the best,

"As ever,

"B"

1-924, 9+0  
 3 - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)  
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)  
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-52

100-428091-6517

6 SEP 28 1967

ACB:msb  
(7)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

59 SEP 28 1967

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : SAC (105-14931)

DATE: 9/22/67

FROM :

SA [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT:

NIKOLAI MIKHAILOVICH TALANOV  
IS-R

Information contained herein was obtained from [REDACTED] on date (s) indicated by SAS THOMAS D. J. BROOKS and [REDACTED] and Mr. [REDACTED] of the Central Intelligence Agency. [REDACTED] is a confidential informant, contact with whom has been insufficient to establish his reliability.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

There should be no dissemination of the contents of this memorandum and information from [REDACTED] outside of the Bureau without Bureau authorization.

In the event KGB code names appear in this memorandum, they are not to be further disseminated.

The classification given any communication prepared for dissemination outside the Bureau containing information from [REDACTED] will depend upon the nature and content of such information, each case standing on its own merits. Under no circumstances should a classification of less than "Confidential" be utilized.

b7D

CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN THE HANDLING OF ANY INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM [REDACTED] AND NO ACTION TAKEN WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THIS HIGHLY SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- 1-Bureau (105-14931) (TALANOV)
- 2-Bureau [REDACTED]
- 1-Bureau (65-69854) (Soviet Espionage Activities - KGB Illegals Directorate)
- ①-Bureau (100-428091) (SOLO)
- 1-Bureau (105-129118) (DNISTRENKO)
- 1-Bureau (105-95139) (FILIPPOV)
- 1-Bureau (105-139879) (SHOKIN)
- 1-Bureau (105-117502) (SHUVALOV)

b7D

COPIES CONTINUED

CJJ:mjb  
(18)



68 OCT 3 1967

100-428091  
NOT RECORDED  
29 SEP 27 1967

NY 105-14931

COPIED CONTINUED

b7D

1-New York [REDACTED]  
1-New York (65-23628) (Soviet Espionage Activities - KGB  
Illegals Directorate)  
1-New York (100-134637) (SOLO)  
1-New York (105-66762) (DNISTRENKO)  
1-New York (105-46225) (FILIPPOV)  
1-New York (105-73014) (SHOKIN)  
1-New York (105-59801) (SHUVALOV)  
1-New York (Tickler)  
1-New York



NY 105-14931

On 7/27/67, the source was shown an album containing the names and photographs of Soviet personnel assigned to the SMUN as of January, 1967.

The source identified NIKOLAI M. TALANOV as the Chief of the KGB Line "N" (Illegals) and the special Line "MARAT".

The source identified the following individuals as case officers of Line "N":

NIKOLAY I. DNISTRENKO  
SVYATOSLAV V. FILIPPOV -- once a case officer of Line "PR", but dropped from that Line because he was not efficient with Line "PR".  
ARTEM P. SHOKIN  
ANATOLI S. SHUVALOV

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *Due to*

DATE: September 26, 1967 *wc*

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 9/26/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

## ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

REC-52

100-428091-6518

HS:drv  
(7)

6 SEP 28 1967

59 SEP 29 1967

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York

9/26/67

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

*AP*  
**SOLO**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

During the recent conference on captioned matter held at the Seat of Government, a discussion was held regarding the institution of a program designed to develop possible replacements for Solo. As a part of the overall objectives of this program, it was deemed desirable to consider steps to neutralize those present Party leaders who possess sufficient stature in the Party to be considered logical replacements for Solo and who could not be brought under the Bureau's control.

This phase of the Solo Operation should now be given thorough and comprehensive consideration. As a practical matter, this program should be considered to have the dual purpose of replacement for Solo and elimination of uncontrollable competition for the informants. *Q*

You should, therefore, promptly review the situation as it currently exists in your division. Within 90 days of the date of this letter, submit a summary of your observations with respect to potential replacements for the informants and to the identity of those Party leaders who might be considered by the Party as replacements but who cannot be controlled by the Bureau.

Your initial letter should consist of an assessment of:

1. Those qualified Party members (not informants) in your division who you believe might at some future date be placed under Bureau control and might develop as a replacement in Solo.

6 SEP 28 1967

2. Those leaders in your division who are of sufficient stature in the Party to assume responsibilities in the Solo Operation and who you believe can never be placed under Bureau control.

RHH:cst  
(4)

66 SEP 29 1967

*[Handwritten signatures]*  
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

MAILED 8  
SEP 26 1967  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, New York  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

3. Current informants who, with specific guidance and training with this objective in mind, can possibly be considered as replacements.

4. Party officials in other districts who could possibly be considered as replacements as under #1 above.

5. Those leaders in other divisions who could replace Solo and who could not be placed under Bureau control.

This is intended to be only an initial survey to assess the Bureau's position at the present time. In order that we might consider all possible replacements, this program will have to be pursued systematically, continuously, and vigorously if suitable replacements are to be located for our Solo informants to the exclusion of replacements by the Party over whom we can exert no control.

NOTE:

The recent conference at the Seat of Government on the Solo Operation discussed the desirability of immediately implementing a program to assure that all qualified replacements for our Solo informants were assessed as to their controllability by the Bureau and to implement a program whereby logical candidates could be approached for development. This is a long-range program which must be promptly implemented if we are to fill the vacancies created by the termination of current Solo informants, an occasion we must some day face. This is an initial letter to New York to set this program in motion.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*

DATE: September 26, 1967

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

On 9/26/67, the New York Office furnished the text of two messages which the informant desired to send and requested that they be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished to New York on the same day.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:dry

(7)

ENCLOSURE

EX-102

100-428091-6520

REC 22 6 SEP 29 1967

6 OCT 3-1967

9/26/67

11198 63291 51367 62962 13641 34201 54138 50331 40179 08151  
12017 09126 08384 85156 63179 29248 55775 16111 01967 56080  
61513 42493 46871 62009 04292 49773 54714 14286 45700 44994  
40656 11829 30271 33506 20088 18768 02978 85156 55412 83832  
04390 91638 42667 27749 43915 36186 18992 29453 55417 37449  
93343 47148 27986 60721 72355 91693 99448 95868 39429 60243  
55519 44220 26690 73110 75899 15101 88332 10801 78071 48248  
32213 86302 49740 34104 70445 52115 65936 52100 69604 54449  
33125 91569 09963 44516 18200 84844 67824 66730 99988 48965  
49750 92747 69573 46513 89169 33921 20281 06186 02434 55025  
22160 92957 89970 54369 77070 88511 28705 05255 61222 93658  
15721 08923 53355 04228 21005 56252 73145 32970 53267 08584  
63422 22185 19325 08046 45098 28788 78053 51735 35838 11391  
93746 36217 55092 41029 67366 44084 02991 41539 74958 78563  
50103 60469 23518 22665 22757 27361 62528 20848 82703 96901  
97653 93523 01365 29672 79466 85677 61867 72903 72368 54945  
92988 16941 06545 35193 06245 02691 48060 03682 26559 63950  
08710 12077 40329 12237 92260 97604 68665 84009 19194 43915  
64666 31067 19298 43480 71216 81869 07020 04612 84117 20520  
30333 49222 91926 37572 89323 36106 60127 76691 63212 81910  
45847 57062 26397 42669 61113 65215 08750 48335 52431 94708  
08368 37061 78689 72336 87535 39744 33925 87855 01232 89821  
91180 29877 92147 87500 51292 72235 19239 08847 64561 16601  
46749 12136 97992 98171 74684 77792 32726 97684 46380 09977

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-6520

46136 93818 40276 44623 08641 40080 56775 98533 06357 67320  
35610 21137 78855 99442 80397 77559 54413 17208 50230 16278  
09461 92036 75731 84603 33832 38088 63443 61972 78236 64594  
89778 83518 17345 66425 88410 00455 97934 98840 60945 30283  
53619 98945 58192 72741 07756 76990 13355 29009 45096 21743  
71254 67748 06922 74071 78882 91703 18611 52299 95096 32254  
70758 99571 57718 84562 91681 24054 25416 47843 41934 29943  
89185 38537 53761 88683 63099 46423 92582 57324 59576 03308  
35030 56866 76119 70330 26810 40136 65918 30700 36431 89538  
18490 05256 00063 24247 23894 62259 23043 77800 69148 57737  
67970 59274 50362 88457 43055 87569 21817 09138 37671 79378  
42146 77863 80760 86464 70734 88466 44204 93421 79228 28815  
00816 21291 25926 79208 00965 58016 81111 16660 37956 83884  
25231 02386 04717 37433 70406 78371 01110 89413 29575 59100  
80745 40786 96425 01300 86846 51274 29842 79437 47034 83412  
43703 13820 99576 27442 80515 30463 04431 29115 57564 99782  
99204 51448 06008 74133 11146 48040 55978 52554 74796 56657  
42116 94201 89831 88472 66790 03255 23301 19151 84779 62783  
71913 31919 80013 86695 23648 56095 39952 88098 44268 85601  
23072 63812 00369 55648 72371 31128 42593 71131 97480

ABLE KIT HILL DEAR REXES. REX PAL MASKED ME TO CONVEY THE F  
OLLOWING TO YOU. IN VIEW OF CIRCUMSTANCES THAT HAVE DEVELO  
PED IN COVE-RUG, WIDESPREAD AND NUMEROUS STRIKES, CONSTAN  
T ACTIVITY OF EBB FORCES, AS WELL AS CONTINUING STRUGGLE IN S  
TONE GHETTOS TAKING PLACE IN PERIOD OF UNFOLDING POLITICAL  
ACTIVITY AND PREPARATIONS NOW BEING MADE FOR 1968 PRESID  
ENTIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS WE ARE FACED AGAIN WITH VERY  
CRITICAL FINANCIAL SITUATION. ALSO BECAUSE WE HAVE TAKEN S  
OME BIG STEPS IN INVESTING MANY TENS OF THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS  
IN PRINTING PRESSES AND OTHER EQUIPMENT TO PREPARE FOR LAUN  
CHING OF OUR TIDE PAPER, OUR FINANCIAL PRESSURES ARE MOST IM  
MENSE. OUR RESERVE IS BEING USED UP FAST NOW AND WE ARE BEGINN  
ING TO DEPEND ON LOANS. WE WOULD THEREFORE MOST RESPECTFULL  
Y ASK IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO SPEED UP THE DELIVERY OF COLOUR PRIN  
TS PRIOR TO NOVEMBER DATE WHICH YOU GAVE FOR SECOND DELIVERY.  
MANY POSSIBILITIES WILL BE LOST BY OUR LANE BECAUSE OF OUR I  
NABILITY TO RESOLVE URGENT MATTERS THAT REQUIRE FINANCES.  
I HESITATED TO MAKE THIS SMALL REQUEST IN VIEW OF OUR PRIOR UND  
ERSTANDING, BUT QUICKER RESPONSE TO OUR REQUEST WOULD BE OF  
GREAT HELP TO OUR LANE AND RUG GENERALLY IN THESE TURBULENT M  
OMENTS WHEN TIME IS MOST ESSENTIAL. THE PUBLICITY AND BOURG  
EOIS PRESS ARTICLES ABOUT OUR LANE RECEIVING LARGE INHERIT  
ANCE IS DELIBERATELY EXAGGERATED TO HAMPER OUR DRIVE FOR FU  
NDS. NOT ONLY HAVE THE AMOUNTS OF THIS BEEN EXAGGERATED, BUT



ALSO IF THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SO THAT WE  
WILL NOT RECEIVE THIS INHERITANCE. EVEN IF WE SHOULD WIN A L  
EGAL POINT, LONG TIME MAY ELAPSE BEFORE WE CAN SEE SOME OF THE  
MONEY. AS ALWAYS, WE ARE MOST GRATEFUL FOR YOUR REPLY AND I  
MEL Y TOGA AND AID WITH WARM PAT GREETINGS, HUB - DOVE - COX.

75250 93531 71653 76249 91372 87451 97262 02652 46871 43639  
92958 79974 28644 43847 90781 44775 68421 17028 31777 31881  
41884 11877 10357 92849 11811 85044 43548 18131 66094 74495  
48648 57469 31670 63310 43901 35475 03757 92685 00898 14617  
34063 67416 33715 53665 38538 15442 60500 67731 56138 81092  
00454 80446 54159 67789 38915 31299 19874 17383 28514 04890  
41508 93970 03742 06440 49133 25265 98051 49506 03495 54138  
30629 31505 32419 77716 67842 46246 85657 99364 25708 91318  
91366 91571 80156 04225 11825 48720 22166 13595 72619 98144  
09839 84709 73061 28310 22858 89874 23280 22738 42943 19316  
44968 42405 55818 93473 26212 50414 62639 42608 65782 17126  
93891 49122 07841 93177 07678 42144 56345 62335 44090 47738  
94919 09957 06628 17229 72866 09569 78437 57841 52778 99264  
81261 53562 99251 88295 23647 32248 50032 97036 96402 06372  
55749 07651 60604 79349 60467 50951 39363 34883 04665 21401  
74805 45578 72347 72351 19230 72114 47195 12286 35455 43271  
58386 07040 38805 04049 63045 34638 68364 35119 27287 77464  
54941 36342 72391 41541 19710 62007 80093 99018 13901 28124  
88239 46482 15815 65068 04229 26776 78898 50520 84115 33890  
75738 78616 44168 96848 94110 20916 78685 09970 14053 77292  
52176 90338 73802 96642 92668 52916 28525 10292 93170 06942  
46407 41891 38550 29557 39887 81498 11901 01174 54984 32641  
23598 76287 66839 99796 40357 72844 74506 08116 47258 07555  
58887 17929 47146 21425 19081 81252 47354 48826 91361 39747

76125 79454 48970 68361 00573 32300 76955 73644 66207 52451

77534 99822 09892 01524 01368 01795 96449 94741 01884 91974

03339 35703 23299 06321 10925 94308 72825 89149 32887 49247

55540 33718 78121 31286 95659 68611 33936 04494 15078 35707

89651 65469 31557 20414 09233 22962 77973 93454 92329 62648

15957 68024 60964 58544 90525 28826 75982 67944 87608 91002

02208 29322 52244 64067 19087 03970 34341 23893 30707 41165

36417 82794 14024 43481 54743 82734 12632 52027 77090 22102

82799 25609 12581 02123 21644 55165 01636 59298 77258 97543

46238 06647 22673 01773 18673 53988 65143 58319 59851

ABLE KIT. DEAR REXES. THIS IS TO NOTIFY YOU ABOUT OUR LAND  
GOING OVER TO PARTICIPATE IN CELEBRATION OF WAVE. IVY, GEN  
ERAL SECRETARY, ABLE, COX. LAST, CHAIRMAN, ABLE, COX. MA  
PLE, CHAIRMAN DOVE, ABLE, ARROW, COX. HUB, SECRETARY DOVE  
ABLE, ARROW, COX. PINE, CHAIRMAN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DI  
STRICT, ABLE, ARROW, COX. WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO REMIND YOU TH  
AT REX HUB IS ONE OF FEW CHARTER MEMBERS OF COX AND HAS HAD CONT  
INUOUS BEAM IN ABLE OF COX FOR 33 YEARS. WE WOULD SUGGEST TH  
AT LUGS FOR ALL REXES EXCEPT HUB BE PICKED UP IN FAIR. LUG FOR H  
UB, SINCE HE TRAVELS UNDER DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES, SHOUL  
D BE PICKED UP IN OFFICE. HE WILL TRAVEL UNDER NAME SYDNEY S. L  
ESSER SYDNEY S. LESSER. WE ALSO LIKE TO REMIND YOU THAT LAST  
SUMMER YOU HAD SKIL WIVES OF REX OAK AND REX LAST. THEREFORE I  
T WOULD BE NECESSARY TO LEAVE LUGS FOR THEM ALSO IN FAIR. WE TO  
OK INTO CONSIDERATION YOUR STANDING SKIL TO HUB WHEN WE NAME  
D FIVE COUSINS. WE WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT IT WOULD BE WELL  
TO SKIL A SEPARATE COUSIN TO REPRESENT LANE OF WIND. IT WOULD  
BE OUR SUGGESTION THAT THIS BE THE OLD VETERAN LANE LEADER JU  
AN SANTOS RIVERA. JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, CHAIRMAN OF LANE OF WI  
ND. ON THIS MATTER WE WOULD LIKE TO GET A REPLY FROM YOU VIA DUK  
E SO THAT WE CAN INFORM HIM IMMEDIATELY AND HAVE HIM PREPARE  
WITH WARM, PAT GREETINGS, PALM, GENERAL SECRETARY, COX.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091)

FROM : *my* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub E)

SUBJECT: *gm* SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 9/27/67

*5-R at [unclear]*

On September 25, 1967, the Chicago Office received an air mail communication which had been transmitted by the Brazilian Communist Party (LCP) to a Solo drop box maintained by the Chicago Office in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois 60680. The communication bore the following return address: Laboratorio De Pesquisas, Farmaceutico-Centificas, Dep. Internacional, Rua Uruguai 229, Rio de Janeiro. The postmark was illegible.

Contained in the envelope was a copy of "Voz Operaria," No. 31, September, 1967, weekly publication of the LCP.

Enclosed herewith are two positive photostat copies for the Bureau and one positive photostat copy for New York of this publication. The original copy has been furnished to CG 5824-S\* in order that he could make it available to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

~~ENCLOSURE ATTACHED~~

EX-102

100-423091-6521

REC-35

6 OCT 2 1967

- 1-74, 4+0  
②-Bureau (ENCLOSURE 2) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW  
(4)

*1. [unclear] to CIA*

*SE [unclear]  
Do not  
To Bureau and  
to be [unclear]  
USC [unclear]  
[unclear] of [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear]*

COPY AND SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB.  
FOR LAB. ACTION AND REPORT



T-78909  
RAV:del  
9-29-67

53 OCT 26 1967

## SUMMARY FROM PORTUGUESE

From "Voz Operaria" (Workers' Voice), issue No. XXXI, September 1967, Central Organ of the Brazilian Communist Party.

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"The World in Review" (advertisement for the fourth issue of a communist magazine)	3
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The XXIX Congress of the National Student Union and the Position of the Communists	8

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The following "communique" appears on Page 1:

### COMMUNIQUE

For the information of the Party and its members, we wish to let it be known that the penalty of suspension from all his Party positions has been imposed on a Member of the Central Committee and State Leader under the provisions of the single paragraph of Article 7 of the Party's By-Laws. This decision has been made by the Central Committee.

The comrade in question, placing himself outside and above the Party, abandoned his post and, without informing the Party leadership, travelled abroad where he made public statements against the leadership of the Party and against the Party orientation.

August 15, 1967

(Signed) The Executive Commission of the  
Central Committee of the  
Brazilian Communist Party.

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This issue of "Voz Operaria" contains no information concerning Brazilians in the U. S., U. S. citizens in Brazil or any other items of Bureau interest.

# O XXIX Congresso da UNE e a Atuação dos Comunistas

ARMANDO CESAR

Os comunistas, como outras forças políticas que atuam no movimento universitário, acabam de participar do XXIX Congresso Nacional dos Estudantes, promovido pela UNE.

O conclave, que se realizou entre os dias 26-28 de julho, no Estado de São Paulo, contou com a participação aproximada de 300 jovens, representantes de 200 DAS e inúmeros DCEs e CFEs de 19 Estados da Federação.

Balaneando os seus resultados políticos e eleitorais chegamos às seguintes conclusões:

1. — Como um ato de agitação política contra a ditadura e o imperialismo, o XXIX Congresso jogou um significativo papel.

Durante 15 dias, do norte ao sul do País, os estudantes puseram as forças da reação em pé de guerra, ocuparam as manchetes dos jornais diários, o noticiário da rádio e da TV ao defenderem, nas ruas e nas escolas, o seu direito indiscutível de reunir e discutir determinadas questões. E foram vitoriosos. Realizaram seu intento, mesmo tendo no encalço a polícia federal e estadual.

Tal demonstração de persistência, energia e combatividade contribuiu para desmascarar, ainda mais, os inimigos de nosso povo, divulgar importantes palavras de ordem em defesa das liberdades, contra a penetração do imperialismo na vida cultural e educacional do país e de solidariedade ao povo do Vietnã. Infligiram, além disso, uma derrota à ditadura, que não conseguiu localizá-los em seu refúgio.

2. — Pelo número de jovens e organizações que conseguiram mobilizar em 19 Estados da Federação, mesmo tendo-se em conta o fato de estarem todos eles à esquerda do movimento estudantil, o XXIX Congresso da UNE pode ser considerado representativo. Neste terreno, foi mesmo um passo à frente se comparado ao XXVII e o XXVIII realizados em São Paulo e Belo Horizonte, em 1965 e 1966, respectivamente.

3. — Finalmente, o Congresso deve ser ainda valorizado pela solidariedade que conseguiu despertar em importantes setores do clero. Estes, com sua participação política nos acontecimentos, deram uma nova demonstração do desejo de participar, cada vez mais, das lutas populares e democráticas que travam o nosso povo e a nossa juventude.

4. — Porém, se analisarmos o caráter dos debates que suscitou, o conteúdo dos documentos políticos que aprovou, a qualidade da diretoria que elegeu para reger os destinos da UNE no período julho de 1967 a julho de 1968, os métodos que adotou em seu processo de realização, somos forçados a dizer que, de modo algum, o Congresso esteve à altura da importância política da UNE, de sua representatividade, como tampouco da solidariedade que inspirou.

E com isso falhou, justamente, naquilo que deveria ter sido mais caro: a criação de melhores condições para um correto encaminhamento do movimento estudantil brasileiro sobretudo no que se refere ao estabelecimento de sua unidade de cima a baixo.

O XXIX Congresso da UNE enveredou pelo terreno das discussões estérteis. Aprovou documentos estranhos à realidade nacional, internacional e universitária. Deu novos passos no perigoso caminho da discriminação ideológica. Elegeu uma diretoria composta nos conchavos de gabinete. Nada acrescentou de novo no sentido de rever criticamente as posições errôneas que, de uns tempos para cá, vêm sendo assumidas pelos dirigentes da UNE e certas lideranças no movimento estudantil.

Mas, que falem os fatos:

Os debates — Qual foi a sua característica principal? Aprofundar o estudo e conhecimento da realidade em que vivem e atuam os estudantes? Tomar medidas concretas e viáveis para transformar tal realidade? A avaliação crítica da atuação desenvolvida pela diretoria que findava seu mandato? Não. Nada disso. Os debates caracterizaram-se pelas generalidades proferidas, pelas frases-fritas e empolgadas, as declarações vazias em torno dos "problemas estratégicos da revolução brasileira".

E nesse contexto mais geral houve um esforço: estabelecer uma divisão artificial entre os estudantes, agrupando-se em duas grandes categorias, a dos "reformistas" e a dos "revolucionários consequentes". E' uma divisão que, se estabelecida, na prática trará consequências funestas ao movimento universitário no país, do mesmo modo que lhe trouxe a sua divisão artificial entre "direita" e "esquerda" nos idos de 1951-1954.

As Comissões — Os debates em plenário foram o reflexo vivo do trabalho desenvolvido pelas Comissões, sempre negligenciadas, tumultuadas e improdutivas. As Comissões não cuidaram de apresentar aos congressistas para discussão e aprovação resoluções práticas e argumentadas. O palavreado vazio e o espontaneísmo marcaram o trabalho das comissões no XXIX Congresso da UNE.

A Carta da UNE — Merece de nossa parte uma análise posterior mais acurada, por ser o documento político mais importante surgido no término dos trabalhos. Mas desde já é preciso que se diga: Trata-se de um documento divisionista. E o é, quando, no plano internacional, ataca frontalmente a UIE e sua correta política de unidade e cooperação com as forças estudantis que se opõem ao imperialismo, ao colonialismo e ao neocolonialismo em todo o mundo; no plano nacional, restringe a frente única no Brasil às suas forças mais consequentes, os operários, os camponeses e os estudantes; no plano da política estudantil coloca o movimento diante de tarefa acima de seu atual nível de organização e capacidade política; e, finalmente, trata com desdém as reivindicações próprias do setor, colocando-as em plano secundário e fazendo-as vir à tona na medida, apenas, em que podem servir de Cavalo de Troia para suas palavras do ordem pseudo-socialistas.

A Diretoria eleita — Não tem qualquer representatividade. Fruto de conchavos, é representativa apenas das 3 forças políticas que arbitrariamente dividiram entre si, a direção máxima do movimento estudantil brasileiro. E' notado-se que uma delas — tem 3 cargos na atual diretoria — tinha no plenário a insigni-

ficância de 6 votos. Seus componentes são, em alguns casos, nomes derrotados previamente em seus próprios redutos eleitorais, como ocorre com um representante da Guanabara.

Métodos de trabalho — O XXIX Congresso da UNE caracterizou-se ainda, negativamente, quanto aos métodos empregados por sua forte tendência antidemocrática, de modo a facilitar e manter o monopólio político de seus organizadores.

A brusca mudança nos locais de encontro marcados para a entrada das delegações de certos Estados, o retardamento do ingresso de outros no recinto do Congresso, em virtude de suas posições políticas, e, sobretudo a posição abertamente parcial da comissão de credenciais, são argumentos irresponsáveis que ilustram nossa afirmativa.

## A POSIÇÃO DOS COMUNISTAS

Nesse quadro geral qual foi a linha de atuação dos comunistas?

Em primeiro lugar, o nosso Partido, defendendo a tática correta de transformar o Conclave numa grande demonstração de massas contra a ditadura e o imperialismo, em defesa dos direitos estudantis e numa demonstração do espírito unitário de seus componentes, muito contribuiu para sua divulgação e representatividade, alertando-o em várias ocasiões que, afinal, estava reunido para tratar dos interesses estudantis.

O estímulo dado a um novo sistema de aliança surgiu com base na ação dos comunistas e das forças independentes, muito ajudou a se alcançar aqueles resultados. Por isso mesmo devemos saudá-lo como o ponto mais positivo do congresso estudantil nacional de 1967. Tal sistema de aliança adquiriu, no decorrer do Congresso, o caráter de uma oposição construtiva que, apoiada em posições definidas, atuou de modo independente e deu margem à aglutinação de todos aqueles que não aceitam, de modo algum, a opção reacionária ou radicalismo.

E' um fato também louvável que uma equipe de jovens comunistas tenha se portado bravamente em defesa das posições políticas preconizadas pelo Partido não por conservadorismo ou respeito a uma unidade formal, mas porque penetraram na essência de nossa acertada política de massas.

Ressaltados, porém, tais aspectos, convém assinalar que houve sérios erros em nossa atuação e que muito concorremos para os resultados finais negativos do Congresso.

## A Revolução e a Revolução de...

(Conclusão)

outras formas de luta, para ter êxito.

Voltamos então ao ponto onde tudo devia começar: a necessidade de discernir e localizar, em cada caso, as condições adequadas ao desenvolvimento vitorioso da luta armada, e da luta guerrilheira em particular. Dito de um modo mais geral e mais correto: a necessidade de combinar adequadamente as diversas formas de luta popular, de acordo com as exigências concretas do movimento em cada país, em cada momento, em cada situação. Na

E este fato torna-se mais grave quando sabemos que os comunistas entraram majoritariamente na importante assembleia. A vitória em todos os terrenos das teses ultra-"esquerdistas" defendidas pelos grupos pequeno-burgueses radicais atuantes no movimento universitário deve-se, antes de tudo, a que companheiros de certos Estados, entre os quais convém salientar, os de Minas, São Paulo e Rio Grande do Sul, aliamaram-se, ombro a ombro, com os fracionistas declarados da Guanabara e as forças políticas ultra-"esquerdistas" presentes ao Congresso completamente esquecidos de seus deveres partidários. A rebocagem do "ultra-aventureirismo" embarcaram na canoa furada das correntes que equivocadamente ou não se colocam no plano dos piores inimigos do Partido.

A divisão dos comunistas no Congresso foi a principal causa de nossa derrota e da vitória dos grupos que conscientemente ou inconscientemente, tanto mal vêm causando ao movimento estudantil brasileiro.

## O CAMINHO A SEGUIR

E, agora, que fazer? Antes de mais nada é necessário reconhecer nossos erros, procurar as suas raízes ideológicas e encontrar os caminhos para corrigi-los, marchando nas seguintes direções:

a) Da assimilação ao máximo das experiências e elementos educativos extraídos do Congresso, para nossa formação como militantes e para o aperfeiçoamento da elaboração de nossa tática para o movimento.

b) Do desenvolvimento e apoio ao novo sistema de aliança surgido, visando a transformá-lo num amplo movimento de frente única que, apresentando alternativas corretas ao movimento estudantil, crie condições para melhores resultados no próximo Congresso e diminua a ação nociva do que acabou de se realizar.

c) Da análise crítica do comportamento de cada comunista no Congresso, fazendo-os arcar conscientemente com as atitudes que ali assumiram quer individualmente quer como grupos à margem do Partido.

d) Da tomada de medidas práticas que elevem sistematicamente o grau de organização, unidade e do nível teórico, político e ideológico de nossos dirigentes e militantes que atuam no movimento estudantil, como condição indispensável para a reconquista das posições perdidas e a conquista de novas.

solução desse problema, que é sempre um dos mais difíceis e complexos que se colocam para o movimento revolucionário, Régis Debray, preso ao dogmatismo e à tentação simplificador, não ajuda. Mas os povos da América Latina saibam, apesar disso, seguir o grande exemplo da revolução cubana e encontrar os meios e modos de superar e vencer o inimigo imperialista, usando para isso a inventiva, a coragem e a audácia que sempre mostraram, ao longo de suas lutas já seculares pela independência e o progresso social.



# VOZ OPERÁRIA

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ORGÃO CENTRAL  
DO  
PARTIDO COMUNISTA  
BRASILEIRO

## EDITORIAL

### Pela Unidade e o Fortalecimento do Partido

Imensas e de diversa natureza foram as dificuldades que nosso Partido enfrentou após o golpe reacionário de abril de 1964. Mas os militantes e as organizações partidárias souberam encarar as sem derrotismo e tomar medidas para que nossas forças fossem resguardadas, rearticuladas e reativadas, nas novas e opressivas condições surgidas no país. Revelando espírito de iniciativa, ânimo combativo e fidelidade à classe operária e sua vanguarda, numerosos quadros, mesmo inicialmente desligados da direção central, não se abateram diante dos ataques desferidos pela reação contra as organizações do Partido e o movimento de massas, nem se intimidaram com o terror policial desencadeado pelos assaltantes do poder. Dedicaram-se, nos Estados, ao trabalho de restabelecer ligações com militantes e ativar os órgãos e organizações do Partido, recompondo-os quando necessário. Preocuparam-se em ligar-se às massas, buscar contatos com outras correntes políticas e levar ao povo a palavra dos comunistas, iniciando a resistência e o combate à ditadura. E de se destacar o recrutamento de novos membros realizado nesse período. Hoje, nosso Partido desenvolve esforços para intensificar nacionalmente sua atividade, empenha-se em corrigir erros e superar deficiências, avança na realização de suas tarefas, confiante em que saberá cumprir sua responsabilidade de vanguarda da classe operária de nosso país e destacamento do movimento comunista mundial.

A capacidade, que o Partido revelou, de enfrentar os golpes profundos da reação e do imperialismo e prosseguir na luta não se deve, evidentemente, ao acaso. São favoráveis as condições que a situação internacional apresenta, com a crescente influência da União Soviética e de todo o sistema socialista mundial, os êxitos alcançados pelos povos e países que se opõem ao neocolonialismo e ao colonialismo, a ativação das lutas da classe operária nos países capitalistas e o desenvolvimento contínuo do movimento comunista, que hoje conta com 88 partidos, organizados em todos os Continentes e reunindo cerca de 50 milhões de membros. Por outro lado, nosso Partido encontrou, internamente e no seio de nosso povo, os fatores que lhe permitiram atravessar essa fase extremamente difícil. É inegável que o processo autocrítico iniciado em 1956, com o combate ao sistema do culto à personalidade e às práticas dogmáticas e sectárias do passado, alcançou resultados altamente positivos. A linha política do V Congresso, apesar de deficiências que possa apresentar e dos desvios ocorridos na sua aplicação, possibilitou ao Partido desenvolver sua atividade de modo a ir se integrando, como força políti-

ca, na vida da sociedade brasileira. Cresceram suas ligações com as massas. Ampliaram-se seus contatos com outras correntes políticas. Sua influência aumentou. E o Partido se fortaleceu organicamente, multiplicando-se seus efetivos, elevando-se, em todos os escalões, o nível ideológico e político de seus dirigentes e militantes. Daí dois fatos de grande importância. O primeiro é que o golpe reacionário o pró-imperialismo de 1964, desfechado principalmente contra a classe operária e sua vanguarda, sob a bandeira do anticomunismo, não conseguiu isolar o Partido e atingi-lo isoladamente. O segundo é que, com o desenvolvimento do Partido nos anos anteriores, formou-se um conjunto de quadros que soube enfrentar a mudança da situação, os problemas novos dela decorrentes e as medidas de repressão e terror policial, para isso encontrando apoio entre as massas.

O atual Debate, cujo processo se realiza nas duras condições de clandestinidade e perseguição imposta pela ditadura militar, constitui, sem dúvida, uma comprovação do grau do desenvolvimento orgânico, ideológico e político já atingido pelo Partido. Reflete sua capacidade em encarar com serenidade a derrota sofrida, pôr a nu sem temor os erros cometidos, analisar a nova situação do país, traçar a linha política que deve orientar nossa atividade e eleger, de baixo a cima, as direções partidárias. O Debate corresponde, portanto, à justa aplicação do princípio diretor da estrutura e do funcionamento do Partido — o centralismo democrático — em dois de seus aspectos fundamentais: o de que os membros do Partido são iguais em direitos e deveres e decidem sobre todas as questões do Partido, e o de que todos os órgãos e cargos dirigentes são preenchidos por eleições. É este o caminho pelo qual o pensamento coletivo do Partido se manifesta democraticamente através de resoluções que passam a ser obrigatórias para todos e cuja execução cabe em primeiro lugar ao centro dirigente uni-

co, que é, entre um e outro Congresso, o Comitê Central, ao qual se subordinam todas as organizações partidárias. Temos, assim, a centralização com base na democracia e a democracia sob direção centralizada, o que constitui o conteúdo do centralismo democrático.

Mas tem havido violações das normas da vida do Partido que devem ser energeticamente combatidas. Queremos nos referir, de início, a manifestações de indisciplina individual. O Partido é uma organização voluntária. A ele se filiam os que aceitam seu Programa e seus Estatutos. E entre as condições básicas para ser membro do Partido está a de participar de uma das organizações partidárias, sob sua orientação e controle. Inclui-se aí o estrito cumprimento das resoluções do Partido, a correta observância da disciplina. E a disciplina é exigida de todos, sendo maior ainda a responsabilidade do quadro dirigente, pois não se pode admitir que existam privilegiados no Partido, aristocratas que se coloquem acima do coletivo partidário. Trata-se, aliás, de dispositivo expresso dos Estatutos, que determinam que "as resoluções do Partido são cumpridas em caráter obrigatório: o membro do Partido submete-se à organização partidária, a minoria à maioria, as organizações inferiores às superiores". So assim se conseguirá a unidade à ação dos comunistas e encaminharmos sua ação para objetivos determinados. É essa unidade de ação, expressando a vontade coletiva do Partido, é que possibilita a realização com êxito das tarefas revolucionárias, a conquista dos fins programáticos. Admitir o contrário, admitir que cada comunista possa agir como bem entenda, desrespeitando as resoluções partidárias, desprezando a orientação da organização a que pertence e colocando-se fora do seu controle, é individualismo pequeno-burguês, que nada tem a ver com a ideologia do proletariado. E a consequência seria a transformação do Partido numa organização amorfa e ineficaz.

A violação do princípio de su-

bordinação das organizações inferiores às superiores e de todas as organizações do Partido, entre um Congresso e outro, ao Comitê Central tem ocorrido sob formas diversas. Uma delas consiste em afastar-se da orientação política traçada pelo Comitê Central e das diretivas baixadas pela sua Comissão Executiva, procurando imprimir à atividade partidária outra orientação. Há casos em que documentos são elaborados e divulgados com orientação divergente e até conflitante com a do Comitê Central, alguns refletindo posições anti-soviéticas. Ao mesmo tempo, chega-se a impedir que a orientação da direção central desça normalmente a todos os órgãos e organizações partidárias, não distribuindo a "Voz Operária" e outros materiais editados pela Comissão Executiva. Tentase, além disso, deformar o conceito de autonomia das organizações intermediárias, absolutizando-o ao ponto de transformá-lo em completa independência, que abole os laços de subordinação à organização superior. É certamente indispensável zelar pela ampla autonomia dos órgãos e organizações intermediários e estimular, bem como entre os militantes, o espírito de iniciativa. É esse, por sinal, um dos aspectos positivos da atividade do Partido desenvolvido após o início, em 1956, do combate ao sistema do culto à personalidade, às práticas mandonistas do passado. Cumpre defendê-lo e torná-lo ainda mais generalizado. Mas autonomia e iniciativa não podem confundir-se com anarquia, nem podem servir de bloco ao não cumprimento da orientação e das diretivas do órgão ou organização superior. Devem realizar-se dentro da linha política e das resoluções do Partido.

Mais grave ainda do que a violação do princípio de subordinação das organizações inferiores às superiores é a atividade fracionista, em que um grupo rompe as ligações partidárias, publica imprensa própria na qual ataca a direção e combate suas resoluções e sua orientação, simula

(Continua na 2ª página)

## COMUNICADO

Informamos, para conhecimento do Partido e de seus membros, que aplicamos a um membro do Comitê Central e dirigente estadual, nos termos do parágrafo único do art. 7.º dos Estatutos, a decisão do Comitê Central, a pena de suspensão do exercício de todos os cargos partidários em que estava investido.

O referido camarada, colocando-se fora e acima do Partido, abandonou seu posto e, sem sequer dar conhecimento à direção partidária, viajou para o estrangeiro, onde fez declarações públicas contra a direção do Partido e manifestou-se contra a orientação partidária.

Em 15 de agosto de 1967

A Comissão Executiva do Comitê Central do Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

# Pela Unidade e o Fortalecimento... Mensagem ao XV. Congresso do Partido Comunista Mexicano

(Conclusão da 1ª pag.)

a realização de uma conferência paralelamente à conferência realizada pela organização, apresenta-se falsamente como se fosse o Partido, procurando ludibriar militantes e simpatizantes e desagregar organizações partidárias. Assim agindo, é evidente que esse grupo se coloca abertamente fora e contra o Partido.

De maneira farsesca, tenta-se às vezes justificar as violações aos princípios de organização e funcionamento do Partido em nome do direito de divergir, da livre circulação das ideias, da discussão dos problemas da linha política. Nada mais falso. Começamos por reafirmar qual tem sido o continuado a ser a posição da direção diante dessas questões. A diversidade de opiniões, no seio do Partido, sobre problemas concretos, não é apenas inevitável, mas contribui para sua vitalidade, para o aprofundamento das discussões, para maior troca de experiências e conhecimentos, para que, afinal, as resoluções sejam mais acertadas. O membro do Partido tem o direito de defender sua opinião, de mantê-la quando não estiver convencido do contrário, de tornar a defendê-la nas discussões partidárias. Tem o direito de criticar o que lhe pareça falso ou incorreto nos atos ou posições de qualquer organização, órgão dirigente ou membro do Partido. Mas os direitos são inseparáveis dos deveres. Já nos Estatutos da Associação Internacional dos Trabalhadores, elaborados por Marx, inequivocamente se determinava: "Não reconhecer direitos sem deveres, nem deveres sem direitos". As discussões sobre os problemas da vida interna e externa do Partido devem ser realizadas nas reuniões organizadas pelo Partido ou na imprensa partidária. A minoria deve submeter-se à maioria e qualquer membro que mantenha sua opinião divergindo da maioria não pode deixar de cumprir as decisões de que diverja. Além disso, as organizações inferiores se submetem às superiores.

Assim, a livre discussão no seio do Partido se combina com a disciplina e a unidade de ação de todos os membros. A ampla democracia se combina com a direção centralizada. O que não se pode admitir é que o direito de ter opinião se transforme na negação da opinião da maioria do Partido, que o direito de divergir se transforme numa imposição, ao coletivo partidário, da opinião de um membro, ou de uma minoria.

No que diz respeito à discussão das Teses apresentadas pelo Comitê Central, foi assegurado, nas reuniões orgânicas e na imprensa partidária ("Tribuna de Debate"), a livre manifestação das opiniões de todos os membros do Partido. Na análise crítica e autocritica de nossa atividade, na elaboração de nossa linha política, da tática a seguir nas atuais condições do país, é natural que haja discordância e divergências. Prevalecerá, por fim, a decisão da maioria, que expressará o pensamento do Partido e será obrigatória para todos.

Mas o processo da realização do Debate não pode justificar, de modo algum, a violação dos princípios e normas da vida do Partido, a ação liquidacionista dos que procuram atingir a estrutura da organização partidária. Nesse caso, trata-se da própria existência do Partido, do seu caráter de organização política da classe operária, do papel revolucionário que deve representar. É o primeiro dever dos comunistas defender seu Partido. É necessário, portanto, que todos os militantes, órgãos e organizações partidárias assumam com firmeza uma posição de combate a todas as violações dos princípios e normas da vida do Partido, repudiando as manifestações desagregadoras de indisciplina e fracionismo, cerrando fileiras em defesa da unidade do Partido e pelo seu crescente fortalecimento a fim de que possa unir as demais forças revolucionárias da sociedade brasileira e conduzi-las à vitória.

"Brasil, 12 de junho de 1967. Ao XV Congresso do Partido Comunista Mexicano.

Queridos camaradas: Em nome dos comunistas de todo o Brasil e traduzindo os sentimentos da classe operária e demais patriotas e democratas de nosso país, enviamos nossa calorosa saudação de combate aos delegados de vosso XV Congresso e por intermédio deles a todos os comunistas mexicanos.

## IMPORTANCIA DO CONGRESSO

É com o mais vivo interesse que acompanhamos a atividade de vosso Partido — sua vigorosa luta em defesa das liberdades democráticas; sua incansável atividade no sentido de unificar as forças progressistas do país na luta pela paz mundial, contra o imperialismo, pela emancipação nacional e pelo socialismo; seus ingentes esforços por mobilizar grandes massas populares em defesa da Revolução Cubana, contra a criminoso agressão dos Estados Unidos ao povo vietnamita, em apoio aos perseguidos políticos em toda a América Latina — esforços que honram as gloriosas tradições revolucionárias do povo mexicano.

Os comunistas mexicanos, como combatentes consequentes pelos interesses da classe operária e das grandes massas populares, em íntima ligação com a luta em defesa da soberania nacional e pela completa emancipação econômica e política de seu país, contra todas as ameaças do vizinho imperialista, acumulam uma rica experiência política que constitui precioso patrimônio da classe operária de todos os países da América Latina.

## UNIDADE DOS COMUNISTAS LATINO-AMERICANOS

Nas condições atuais do mundo, quando os imperialistas dos Estados Unidos, desesperados com as crescentes dificuldades e contradições em que se debate o sistema capitalista mundial, intensificam sua criminoso agressão armada ao heróico povo vietnamita; em aliança com os imperialistas de Londres e de Bonn, utilizam o governo laico de Israel para agredir os povos árabes; aumentam suas ameaças contra Cuba e sua intervenção nos demais países latino-americanos; o XV Congresso de vosso Partido significará mais um passo importante no caminho do reforçamento da unidade, mais que nunca necessária, dos comunistas e demais revolucionários e democratas de toda a América Latina.

Em nosso país, apesar do revés que sofremos com o golpe militar de 1964 e da dura perseguição que nos move a ditadura que usurpa o Poder, nosso Partido, que se mantém organizado e unido, não poupa esforços para contribuir com sua atividade no sentido da criação de uma ampla frente das forças revolucionárias e democráticas, visando à derrota da ditadura e ao avanço do processo revolucionário. A conquista de um governo capaz de libertar o Brasil do jugo imperialista, de realizar uma reforma agrária que acabe com o latifúndio, de garantir o desenvolvimento independente da economia nacional, de assegurar a paz, a democracia, o bem-estar e a cultura para as grandes massas trabalhadoras.

## INIMIGO COMUM

Não obstante a desigualdade de seu desenvolvimento e a diversidade

de suas características nacionais, os países da América Latina constituem um campo comum de crescentes lutas populares e patrióticas que podem e devem ser coordenadas para que, de maneira mais eficiente, possam nossos povos fazer frente ao inimigo comum — o imperialismo dos Estados Unidos. Cabe aos nossos partidos comunistas e operários, como vanguarda marxista-leninista da classe operária, a maior responsabilidade por essa coordenação de esforços. A contribuição de cada um dependerá, evidentemente, da capacidade que tiver em estreitar suas ligações com as massas, em saber encontrar, em cada momento e nas condições concretas de cada país, evitando a transposição mecânica de experiências alheias e generalizações apressadas, os caminhos e as formas de luta que não os distanciem das grandes massas trabalhadoras e populares, mas, ao contrário, lhes permitam efetivamente dirigir as forças revolucionárias de seus respectivos países.

## NECESSIDADE DO PARTIDO

A experiência revolucionária em toda a América Latina mostra com crescente evidência que as forças do imperialismo e da reação interna não serão batidas, que as derrotas do movimento popular se sucederão e os retrocessos serão inevitáveis, enquanto à frente do movimento popular não estiver a classe operária dirigida pelo seu partido de vanguarda, efetivamente proletário, internacionalista, marxista-leninista. Nada mais grave, no momento atual, do que subestimar o papel do Partido marxista-leninista da classe operária para a luta revolucionária nacional libertadora dos povos latino-americanos, nada mais grave do que pretender dividi-los a pretexto de apressar a revolução.

## CONTRA O FRACIONISMO

Torna-se, por isso, indispensável travar a luta sem quartel contra o revisionismo, contra todas as tendências liquidacionistas, pela efetiva coesão e solidariedade do movimento comunista em toda a América Latina. De acordo com a decisão unânime dos Partidos Comunistas e Operários de todos os países latino-americanos, tomada na reunião de dezembro de 1964, compreendemos a solidariedade entre comunistas como o apoio dos demais partidos à luta revolucionária que cada partido realiza em seu próprio país e como ajuda efetiva à aplicação da linha política de cada partido, visando à vitória das ações colocadas nacionalmente. Repudiamos a atividade fracionista, qualquer que seja sua índole ou procedência.

Estamos seguros de que vosso XV Congresso muito contribuirá para esclarecer os numerosos e difíceis problemas que enfrentamos todos nós, comunistas latino-americanos, para levar adiante com êxito a grande luta que, à frente de nossos povos, travamos contra o imperialismo dos Estados Unidos, pela emancipação nacional, pela paz, pela democracia e pelo progresso social, pela vitória do comunismo.

Com os nossos melhores votos pelo êxito de vossos trabalhos, recebidos, queridos camaradas, as saudações fraternais do COMITÊ CENTRAL DO PARTIDO COMUNISTA BRASILEIRO.

(Os sub-títulos são da Redação)

## Nosso Partido e a Conferência da OLAS

Nosso Partido não se fez representar na recente Conferência da Organização Latino-Americana de Solidariedade (OLAS), realizada em Havana a partir de julho último. A título de convite para a referida reunião, recebemos apenas, por intermédio de um partido irmão, a informação da decisão da 141ª reunião do Comitê Organizador da OLAS, de 31 de agosto de 1966, em que se declarava resolver constituir no Brasil um Comitê Nacional da OLAS, não incluindo, além de outras forças políticas, nosso Partido em pé de igualdade com conhecidos renegados e fracionistas.

Somos de opinião de que a OLAS poderia dar uma grande contribuição à solidariedade e à ajuda aos movimentos democráticos e revolucionários na América Latina. Discordamos, porém, de que se erija em centro para lutar orientação política ao movimento revolucionário de nossos países.

Finalmente, não concordamos com os ataques feitos pelo Comitê Organizador da OLAS ao Partido Comunista da Venezuela. A

unidade da luta antiimperialista e revolucionária na América Latina só terá êxito se apoiada na unidade do movimento comunista latino-americano. São assim condenáveis todas as tendências e manifestações de fracionismo e liquidacionismo.

A revolução cubana é, na América Latina, a maior conquista dos comunistas e dos povos latino-americanos. Defendendo-a, os comunistas e os povos latino-americanos defendem os seus próprios interesses e seu futuro.

A luta comum de todos os comunistas, revolucionários e democratas deve ser dirigida contra o imperialismo, pela independência nacional, pela liberdade dos povos e o esmagamento dos planos agressivos dos imperialistas norte-americanos e seus cúmplices; em solidariedade à revolução e apoio ao governo de Cuba. É neste sentido que intensificaremos a atividade de nosso Partido.

Em 15 de agosto de 1967

A Comissão Executiva do Comitê Central do Partido Comunista Brasileiro

## A Revolução e a Revolução de...

essa premissa básica de seu raciocínio.

A luta armada, como "lei", como perspectiva ou como o que quer que seja, não é uma fatalidade para a revolução social, em nenhum de seus momentos ou etapas. No caso da revolução socialista, e precisamente do momento da passagem do poder da burguesia para o proletariado, aceita-se durante algum tempo a idéia da inevitabilidade de que ela tomasse finalmente a forma de uma luta armada. É verdade que Marx, ao emitir o famoso conceito da violência como parte da revolução social, não defendia, pelo menos expressamente, essa idéia, uma vez que a violência revolucionária pode assumir graus extremos sem que o processo de luta das massas assumam formas armadas caracterizadas.

Lênin tampouco tinha em mente essa fatalidade histórica da luta armada como instrumento da revolução socialista. São muito conhecidos os discursos e documentos elaborados por ele, nos quais defendia a tese sobre a possibilidade da transição pacífica para o socialismo no processo revolucionário russo, até julho de 1917, quando essa possibilidade foi afastada pela mudança que se operou na situação política e impôs-se a necessidade de preparar a insurreição armada do proletariado.

De qualquer modo, admitiu-se durante algum tempo, enquanto durava o sistema do culto à personalidade de Stálin, que a luta armada fosse inevitavelmente o meio decisivo para a derrubada do poder burguês. Note-se que ainda aí a idéia não correspondia rigorosamente à concepção defendida por Debray, pois a luta armada era tida como última instância de todo um complexo de lutas, nas quais as formas utilizadas, pacíficas ou não, legais e ilegais, decorreriam diretamente das exigências concretas da situação. Mas admitia-se sempre que a luta fosse finalmente decidida no campo armado.

Nos últimos dez anos, contudo, a partir do XX Congresso do PCUS, essa tese vem sendo recusada com profusão de dados e argumentos. Não só ela era discutível antes, mas a nova situação mundial criada pela influência decisiva do socialismo em todos os acontecimentos que envolvem a vida dos povos evidenciou a gratuidade dessa concepção. A própria revolução cubana já é apontada como exemplo de transição para o socialismo sem luta armada; embora se possa discutir a validade e a extensão do exemplo, há nele um fato indiscutível: o governo burguês de Urrutia foi afastado e a revolução cubana tomou o rumo do socialismo num processo em que o momento decisivo não foi o choque armado de classes, mas a pressão concentrada de grandes massas do povo e o apoio externo proporcionado pelo campo socialista mundial.

Uma vez que pretende traçar uma linha para a "revolução latino-americana", Debray poderia refutar, mas não ignorar, e muito menos eliminar com uma simples frase toda a fundamentação apresentada em numerosos documentos internacionais do movimento comunista sobre a possibilidade de transições para o socialismo, em nossos dias, que não cheguem a assumir a forma da luta armada. É no entanto o que ele faz, e assim vai do terreno da ciência social para ingressar no

jogo arriscado e incontrolável do palpite histórico.

O outro argumento a que recorre Debray, para apoiar sua escolha do método guerrilheiro como fórmula milagrosa da revolução na América Latina, é o processo revolucionário cubano. Aqui, tanto o exemplo não serve quanto é mau citado. A revolução cubana é uma fonte muito rica de ensinamentos para todos os revolucionários da América Latina. Há nela, sem dúvida, numerosas características que poderão repetir-se, no todo ou em parte, na experiência dos demais povos do Continente. A maior delas, aliás, não merece a menor atenção de Debray: a extrema amplitude da frente que derrotou a ditadura do Batista, que incluía latifundiários e mesmo grupos de negócios norte-americanos, e a permanência nessa frente de grandes contingentes da pequena burguesia durante a passagem da revolução à etapa socialista.

Daí entretanto a pretensão, como faz Debray, que todo o processo revolucionário de um imenso continente passe pelo buraco bem estreito da agulha cubana, há uma enorme distância. A América Latina é constituída por países cujo tamanho, população, composição de classe, nível de desenvolvimento, tradições culturais e políticas diferem largamente. Alguns têm uma burguesia "nativa" relativamente forte, como a Argentina e o Chile, no lado de uma classe operária com tradições já antigas de luta política. Outros atravessam um processo relativamente acelerado de desenvolvimento capitalista, mas seu proletariado, embora numeroso, é de formação recente e baixo nível de organização, como é o caso do Brasil e do México. Em alguns existem regiões altamente desenvolvidas, onde se concentra a vida econômica e política do país — o "grande Buenos Aires" ou o eixo Rio-São Paulo —, e uma população urbana numerosa, sendo predominante, com grupos mágicos e ativos de pequena burguesia, enquanto em outros — Peru, Equador, Bolívia — a esmagadora maioria da população vive no campo, atrasada e esmagada pelo latifúndio, com uma forte maioria constituída por indígenas, vivendo nos limites mais extremos da miséria e da humilhação e presos ainda, em escala considerável ao regime do comunismo primitivo. Alguns têm proporções continentais, como o Brasil e a Argentina, enquanto outros — Nicarágua, Haiti, Guatemala — são agrupamentos nacionais relativamente pequenos, cujos problemas são por isso mesmo forçosamente menos complexos.

Estas e uma infinidade de outras peculiaridades das condições dos diversos países latino-americanos influem no curso concreto da luta em cada país, determinando-lhe o ritmo, suas formas específicas e soluções singulares. O fato de que os imperialistas dos Estados Unidos e latifundiários locais sejam os inimigos comuns de todos os povos da América Latina de modo nenhum significa que a luta contra esses inimigos deva assumir em toda parte a mesma forma e chegar aos mesmos resultados.

Mas não é só que a revolução cubana, ou qualquer outra, não possa servir de modelo para as futuras revoluções na América Latina, que, tirada, cada uma, seu modelo único

e original. O próprio modelo que Debray extrai da revolução cubana é falso. Esta última, na opinião do filósofo parisiense, limitou-se a uma campanha militar, em que um "foco" guerrilheiro instalado na serra espalhou-se, cresceu, derrotou e aniquilou os exércitos do Batista.

A verdade, entretanto, é algo diferente. Já para instalar-se e consolidar-se na Sierra Maestra, o grupo guerrilheiro de Fidel Castro apoiou-se no desenvolvimento anterior da luta do povo cubano contra a ditadura, que custara a vida de milhares de patriotas e criara as condições para o apoio moral e material à guerrilha, dentro e fora de Cuba. No desenvolvimento ulterior da luta contra Batista, a guerrilha tornou-se indubitavelmente um fator de seu estímulo e ativação. E possibilitou ao povo cubano ter um líder, na pessoa de Fidel, que se projetou como a principal figura do movimento democrático, e um poder armado, núcleo do novo Exército nacional revolucionário.

Essa circunstância se confunde, entretanto, aos olhos de alguns, com a idéia de que o exército de Batista foi militarmente derrotado pela guerrilha, quando, na verdade, ele se desintegrou no bojo da crise revolucionária que arrebatou no país, na qual a luta de massas dos trabalhadores e todo o povo, culminando na greve geral realizada em toda a ilha, foi o fator decisivo para a vitória da frente democrática. Isto foi reconhecido mais de uma vez pelo próprio Fidel Castro. Disse ele, por exemplo, no discurso que pronunciou no X Congresso da Confederação dos Trabalhadores de Cuba: "Foi aquela greve, e podemos afirmá-lo com toda a autoridade de quem foi ator naquelas horas decisivas, foi a greve geral que destruiu a última manobra dos inimigos do povo; foi a greve geral que nos entregou as fortalezas da capital da República; e foi a greve geral que deu todo o poder à Revolução."

Não se pode tampouco desconhecer as condições externas, quando se enumeram os fatores de êxito da revolução cubana. Ela surgiu num momento particular da crise geral do capitalismo e do ascenso mundial do socialismo, o que lhe possibilitou vencer sem passar pela prova de uma intervenção imperialista direta e, posteriormente, enfrentar as represálias militares e econômicas do imperialismo, com o apoio do campo socialista.

Há a esse respeito uma passagem curiosa no livro de Debray. A certa altura, procurando trunfos para sua tentativa de impor o "esquema cubano" à América Latina, diz ele que qualquer tipo de insurreição "clássica" está fadado ao fracasso, diante "de um exército treinado e engrossado por uma missão militar norte-americana bem equipada, dotada de uma força de choque numericamente reduzida, mas agressiva". Só a guerrilha, segundo o filósofo, pode vencer essa parada.

Embora induza a conclusões exatamente contrárias às defendidas por Debray, a acentuação do caráter agressivo do imperialismo norte-americano é de fato um aspecto marcante da vida da América Latina, nos últimos anos, e tem muito a ver com o êxito da revolução cubana. A tentativa de composição com os setores nacionais burgueses e liberais do Continente, que era um elemento importante da po-

lítica de Washington no fim da década de 50 e início da atual, foi relegada a um plano secundário, e a política de intervenção aberta e direta passou novamente a ser o critério básico, senão único, da ação econômica, diplomática e militar do poderoso vizinho do Norte nessa área que ele considera sua "retaguarda". O fator determinante dessa mudança foi o rumo tomado pela revolução cubana, na qual os imperialistas depositavam inicialmente alguma esperança, supondo que ela poderia moldar-se a seus interesses, e, de um modo geral, a evidência de que todos os movimentos por reformas estruturais, com os quais os governantes de Washington se diziam solidários, tendiam a escapar a seu controle, na medida em que empolgavam e mobilizavam grandes massas do povo, fossem quais fossem as formas de luta que as massas encontravam para incorporar-se à vida política da nação.

Uma consequência clara dessa mudança está em que ela dificulta a irrupção de um movimento guerrilheiro vitorioso no Continente. Os militaristas do "Pentágono" consagraram uma versão sobre a revolução cubana muito próxima à que Debray repete em seu livro. Identificam a liderança de Fidel Castro, que foi muito mais política do que militar, com a vitória militar dos guerrilheiros, e nisso baseiam-se para montar um vasto programa de preparação dos exércitos latino-americanos e de suas próprias forças armadas para a luta antiguerrilha.

Assim, a luta guerrilheira na América Latina é travada hoje exatamente no terreno onde o inimigo espera, e sabe-se que isto é uma ocorrência muito ingrata na tática militar. O êxito da facção guerrilheira da revolução cubana se deveu, em boa parte, ao elemento surpresa. Além de ser expressão de uma frente política extraordinariamente ampla, que unia toda a nação contra a ditadura odiada, ela teve a seu favor que os imperialistas estavam política e militarmente despreparados para essa forma de luta no Continente. Tinham do "Movimento 26 de Julho" a imagem de um agrupamento aventureiro e romântico, com o qual esperavam conciliar-se. Isto possibilitou uma grande e útil campanha de imprensa e de opinião pública nos Estados Unidos, visando à interrupção da ajuda deste país ao governo de Batista. Sem deixar de simpatizar com a ditadura cubana, o governo de Eisenhower evitava solidarizar-se publicamente com ela, suspendeu o fornecimento de armas a Batista e finalmente retirou-lhe todo apoio, para reconhecer e oferecer amizade ao governo revolucionário vitorioso a 1.º de janeiro de 1959.

É difícil prever a repetição de algo semelhante, na conjuntura atual. Onde quer que irrompa, na América Latina, a luta guerrilheira encontra sempre à sua espreita uma malta de milicos sedentos de "glória", ávidos por justificar os volumosos orçamentos que consomem e reforçados pelo imenso potencial bélico que o imperialismo põe à sua disposição e, se necessário, utiliza diretamente na luta. Isto não a exclui, naturalmente, das formas de luta possíveis e necessárias à vitória dos povos latino-americanos. Apenas acentua a importância da questão básica que Debray devia discutir e não discute a existência de condições determinadas que a guerrilha pressupõe, mais do que

(Continua na 3ª página)

# A Revolução e a Revolução de Régis Debray

SIMÃO BONJARDIM

Uma das características importantes da atualidade é o papel crescente que cabe às camadas médias urbanas na vida econômica e política do mundo capitalista. O desenvolvimento econômico que se vem processando nesses países com um grau acentuado de progresso tecnológico e um crescimento acelerado do setor de serviços, públicos e privados, abre oportunidade de emprego assalariado para numerosos técnicos, especialistas e funcionários burocráticos, componentes dessa camada social. Cria-se assim uma massa considerável de elementos típicos da pequena burguesia cujos interesses econômicos os aproximam do proletariado e do socialismo, embora sem romper seus vínculos com a burguesia, principalmente os de natureza política e ideológica.

Essa mudança que se opera no caráter, no número e na composição da pequena burguesia vem chamando a atenção dos estudiosos marxistas, cada dia mais. Surgindo simultaneamente com a crescente influência mundial do socialismo, ela tem implicações de grande alcance na atividade da luta democrática nos países ainda sujeitos ao capital. Atua igualmente como fator de fortalecimento da luta anticolonialista nos países semicoloniais e dependentes onde se processa o desenvolvimento capitalista.

Ao lado desses aspectos novos e fundamentais, em nossos dias, para o traçado e a condução da tática da luta do proletariado nos países capitalistas, o fortalecimento numérico e a acentuação do caráter progressista da pequena burguesia geram, entretanto, inevitavelmente, um acirramento das contradições no seio do próprio movimento revolucionário. nesses países, com a acentuação da luta pela direção do movimento. Isto ocorre principalmente nas regiões subdesenvolvidas, onde a classe operária, quase sempre ainda débil ou muito recente, apenas dá os primeiros passos no caminho de sua afirmação como classe revolucionária mais consequente e dirigente da sociedade.

Em tais circunstâncias, a luta pela hegemonia do processo revolucionário, que há pouco se circunscovia basicamente à disputa entre o proletariado e a burguesia, ganha um novo polo: a pequena burguesia urbana. A medida que essa camada se fortalece, e na medida da debilidade local do proletariado, projeta-se uma liderança de políticos e intelectuais pequeno-burgueses, também empenhados no desenvolvimento da revolução nacional e social, mas que levam ao movimento revolucionário e procuram fazer prevalecerem nele suas concepções e direção próprias.

Há nessa luta ainda a peculiaridade de que ela acarreta uma espécie de "invasão" do marxismo pela pequena-burguesia. Uma vez que esta camada não pode dispor de uma ideologia própria, seus líderes revolucionários tendem a utilizar a ideologia do proletariado, deformando-a, para defender suas posições.

O livro de Régis Debray, "A revolução na revolução", é uma amostra dessa "invasão", empreendida com o fito de dar à pequena burguesia o direito à direção do movimento revolucionário. Apresentando-se como defensor do marxismo "puro", recorrendo a algum palavreado marxista, mas ignorando ou

negando ostensivamente as categorias fundamentais do pensamento elaborado por Marx, Engels e Lênin, o jovem filósofo francês não tem em mente senão pôr fora da cena histórica o proletariado e seu partido revolucionário. Essa intenção, consciente ou não, transparece ao longo de todo o livro, implicitamente. Mas, já ao final do volume, ela desponta com toda clareza. Referindo-se aos países latino-americanos nos quais uma "vanguarda guerrilheira" já estaria em marcha, diz Debray: "uma classe operária muito pouco numerosa, ou conquistada pela influência de uma aristocracia sindical reformista, e um campesinato isolado e humilhado aceitam esse grupo de origem pequeno-burguesa como 'Direção Política'".

Não se entende bem como é que uma classe operária esmagada pelo reformismo e um campesinato inanimado podem empolgar-se precisamente por palavras de ordem como a da luta armada e da revolução socialista, que em termos políticos estão a uma distância de vários anos-luz de seu estado de espírito atual, mas que não obstante são as que Debray lhes propõe. Entende-se porém, e claramente, que à base dessa idéia extravagante está o desejo de firmar um novo conceito de liderança revolucionária.

Para chegar a esse resultado, o "contemplativo" filósofo Debray, tal como o próprio se define, concentra seus esforços teóricos em três direções. Primeiro, procura inpor a guerrilha como fórmula obrigatória para o movimento revolucionário na América Latina, baseada numa idéia falsa do processo revolucionário em geral e numa interpretação errada dos processos da revolução cubana em particular. Segundo, procura descreditar a categoria marxista-leninista da "crise revolucionária" e fazer o "então histórico" da luta de classes e da luta de massas como forças motrizes da revolução, substituindo-as por uma concepção fetizada da guerrilha conduzida por uma "minoria heroica". Finalmente, o naturalmente, o Partido Comunista "clássico", como organização destinada a dirigir a luta de classe do proletariado, torna-se um "traço velho" dessa revolução "de novo tipo", e Debray procura substituí-lo por uma liderança de caudilhos, saídos da pequena burguesia.

Essa "revolução na teoria" pregada pelo filósofo-jornalista atualmente preso na Bolívia — e nessa inteira solidariedade a ele como perseguido político não nos exime da obrigação de criticar suas concepções noivas ao justo equacionamento dos problemas da revolução na América Latina — é atualmente objeto de vasta campanha publicitária internacional, da qual participa a própria máquina de propaganda do imperialismo, interessada em fomentar a discórdia no campo de seus inimigos. Trata-se porém, de uma curiosa revolução para trás, se assim se pode dizer, já que é feita em benefício de idéias que estão há mais de um século superadas pelo movimento revolucionário mundial. É o que procuraremos mostrar neste artigo e nos dois que se seguirão, em série, dedicados a esses três pontos cardiais do esquema teórico de Debray.

## 1) O SANTO REMÉDIO

A guerrilha é a panacéia infalível que Debray receita para todos

os problemas da revolução na América Latina. Em função dela, da sua eficácia, resolvem-se todas as questões políticas e de organização. do movimento revolucionário no Continente.

Há muito o que discutir nessa maneira simplista de focalizar os problemas intrincados da luta revolucionária. Mas, desde logo, perguntase porque a guerrilha, e não outras formas de luta, será o fator decisivo do êxito do movimento de libertação dos povos latino-americanos?

Os comunistas, ao longo de sua experiência histórica internacional já volumosa, têm demonstrado que não menosprezam e, ao contrário, apreciam altamente a forma de luta guerrilheira como instrumento de ação popular. Na China, durante a guerra civil, na Rússia, durante a II Guerra, nos diversos países europeus invadidos pela Alemanha, no Vietnã na Argélia e, hoje mesmo, em alguns países latino-americanos, a guerra de guerrilha foi e é utilizada pelos comunistas como meio de dar seguimento à luta do povo.

Para os comunistas, portanto, não tem sentido perguntar-se se somos a favor ou contra a guerrilha. Em geral, abstratamente, somos todos entusiastas dessa forma de luta popular, cuja técnica tem sido de extrema utilidade ao movimento dos povos por sua independência e progresso social. Toda a questão está em saber quando, onde e como, concretamente, se deve recorrer a ela; ou, dito de outro modo, está em formular e identificar na realidade concreta da luta política as condições em que é recomendável a adoção, em maior ou menor escala, dessa forma de luta.

O Partido de vanguarda do proletariado, por definição, é um núcleo dirigente com a missão de organizar e orientar a luta da classe operária e seus aliados na revolução. Não pode substituir essa luta, quando ela falta ou é débil, nem pode prescindir dela. A cada momento e a cada situação da luta das massas da classe operária e seus aliados correspondem determinadas formas de luta. Cabe à vanguarda, em cada caso concreto, ajudar as massas a encontrarem a forma de luta mais adequada ao nível de sua consciência, organização e combatividade. Só assim ela cumpre o seu papel dirigente e combina de modo justo esses dois elementos-chave do movimento revolucionário, o Partido e o proletariado, a fim de que, de seu encontro, nasça o maior poderio de ambos e, conseqüentemente, o progresso da revolução.

Por outro lado, o Partido de vanguarda do proletariado, também por definição, dispõe de um número limitado de quadros e recursos. Deve portanto zelar por eles com cuidado, utilizá-los do modo mais eficaz, para que sua ação resulte na sua multiplicação e, conseqüentemente, no fortalecimento do partido e do proletariado.

Há formas de luta que são de permanente utilidade para a ativação do movimento de massas. É o caso, por exemplo, da luta sindical dos operários e do movimento associativo e reivindicatório dos camponeses. Embora sua importância varie no curso do processo revolucionário, não há caso nem momento em que sejam totalmente inúteis

ou desaconselháveis. Outras formas, entretanto, exigem condições específicas que recomendem sua utilização, pois envolvem riscos para as massas e para o partido, podem concorrer para afastar as massas da luta por seus interesses e com isso debilitar, em vez de fortalecer, o proletariado e sua vanguarda, e favorecer, em vez de dificultar, a contra-revolução. Deve-se considerar ainda que a utilização inoportuna de determinada forma de luta, concorre para desmoralizá-la perante as massas, aumentando entre estas a resistência a aceitá-la no futuro.

A guerrilha é precisamente uma forma de luta que exige condições específicas para tornar-se útil, numa situação concreta. É difícil definir fórmulas gerais para afiorar a existência ou não dessas condições. A luta guerrilheira já se apresentou em circunstâncias muito diversas, havendo ou não situação revolucionária imediata, havendo ou não ocupação estrangeira ou guerra civil no país. Embora a presença de pelo menos uma dessas três condições pareça necessária, o juízo a esse respeito compete menos à manipulação de critérios de ciência exata e mais à sensibilidade e ao tato políticos dos dirigentes revolucionários, cuja experiência e sensibilidade devem capacitá-los a determinar se o recurso a guerrilha é oportuno e possível ao êxito da luta do povo, ou será apenas um meio de empregar sem proveito ou perder quadros e recursos valiosos do partido e expor à derrota o movimento revolucionário.

Há entretanto uma condição imprescindível sempre: a guerrilha não sobrevive e muito menos viceja se não se apoiar na participação ativa, corajosa e entusiasta de grandes massas do povo, especialmente das massas camponesas. Dependendo assim, estreitamente, do nível de consciência e mobilização atingido pelas massas, em sua luta pelos objetivos a que a guerrilha deve servir.

Toda a discussão, portanto, no tratamento da guerrilha na luta atual dos povos latino-americanos, centra-se em saber em que medida e em que casos essa forma de luta corresponde aos interesses e necessidades atuais do desenvolvimento da luta das massas em cada país e no conjunto do Continente. Em outras palavras, é basicamente uma discussão sobre a existência ou não, em cada país, de condições propícias para a adoção dessa forma de luta.

Régis Debray, no entanto, simplesmente se furt a essa discussão. Limita-se a afirmar, logo no início, que "a revolução socialista resulta de uma luta armada contra o poder, armado do Estado burguês", promovendo esse alorismo à categoria de "velha lei histórica", e argumenta com o exemplo cubano como "prova bastante e convincente de que a vitória da revolução em toda a América Latina, além de ser fruto da luta armada, será fatalmente ganha através da luta armada guerrilheira.

Deixemos de lado o completo desconhecimento que Debray revela sobre o que seja uma lei histórica, uma lei de desenvolvimento social, que descreva a dinâmica e o sentido geral de um processo, e não o seu resultado ou um aspecto formal dele. Deixemos de lado, também a suposição, implícita nas proposições do jovem filósofo, de que na América Latina se trate hoje da revolução socialista, embora, como veremos mais tarde, ele não fundamente nem aplique coerentemente (Continua na 7ª página)

# Finanças --

## Uma Tarefa Política

TADEU MARTINS

Entre as numerosas tarefas do Partido não é menos importante a de finanças. Até se pode dizer que tudo, depende dela. E' por assim dizer o combustível de que se alimenta a máquina partidária para poder funcionar. Por isso mesmo não é tarefa para um punhado de militantes, mas para o conjunto do Partido.

O Partido vem melhorando gradativamente as suas finanças. Registram-se alguns êxitos. Reconhecemos contudo que ainda não nos empregamos a fundo na execução dessa tarefa. Se nos detivermos numa análise séria da realidade do nosso Partido, em que pesem as dificuldades que o assolavam, verificaremos que são reais as possibilidades de realização de um bom trabalho nesse setor. Partamos da consciência do fato de que o Partido, atuando na dura ilegalidade em que está, só funcionará a contento se dispuser de recursos suficientes indispensáveis à garantia da sua segurança, à manutenção e intensificação de sua propaganda, à satisfação dos seus compromissos e à mobilidade dos seus quadros. Cada um de nós é responsável pela promoção de recursos financeiros destinados às grandes realizações do nosso Partido. A fase que se aproxima não é menos decisiva do que a fase que se encerrou há pouco com a discussão dos Teses. Quem não se engajou nessa batalha está na obrigação de fazê-lo agora. Para nenhum de seus membros, os acontecimentos que estamos vivendo tem importância secundária. Dêles somos protagonistas e não apenas espectadores. Por isso mesmo aumenta a nossa responsabilidade.

E' justo começarmos por rever as nossas obrigações estatutárias com espírito crítico e autocrítico. E não deve ser coisa do outro mundo orientarmos pelo Regulamento de Finanças em vigor. E' até uma obrigação indeclinável. O primeiro passo seria pôr-nos de acordo quanto ao caráter das tarefas de finanças do nosso Partido que apresentam um caráter de classe.

No nosso Partido, a tarefa de finanças é fator de organização. Certo que é. Não foi por acaso que o grande Lênin estabeleceu como uma das normas partidárias fundamentais a contribuição financeira de cada militante, norma que à prática internacional, através dos anos abona como válida e atuante. E' que os militantes se congregam, se unem e disciplinam também através do trabalho de finanças. O mesmo ocorre em relação aos organismos inferiores e intermediários. De modo que se pode concluir que a tarefa de finanças constitui um dos elos de união partidária.

E' sabido que o nosso Partido se diferencia fundamentalmente das outras organizações partidárias pela sua filosofia. Mas se diferencia outrossim pelo fato de suas finanças provirem das contribuições dos seus militantes, da doação dos amigos, e da contribuição popular, espontânea

e estimuladora. Sabemos todos como os partidos da burguesia suprem as suas necessidades financeiras, através de caixinhas e negociatas. As nossas finanças têm marca ideológica de classe e lhe é dado um destino específico, intransfervel.

São múltiplas as modalidades do trabalho de finanças. E finanças do Partido é o pagamento da contribuição do militante; é a subida da cota para os organismos superiores; é o produto da venda de materiais, livros e folhetos; é o resultado das visitas e da atuação corajosa dos círculos de amigos; é o produto da venda e o pagamento das publicações do Partido, principalmente do seu órgão central — a Voz Operária. Enfim, é o resultado da iniciativa e da imaginação dos nossos militantes, pluralizando e dinamizando o trabalho partidário de finanças, permitindo que o Partido desempenhe a sua função nacional e revolucionária.

Os exemplos vêm de fora. Intelectuais se organizam espontaneamente em grupos de amigos e promovem ajuda financeira ao nosso Partido. E há o caso de numa empresa onde operários e empregados não só organizam coleta de recursos financeiros mas eles próprios se encarregam da arrecadação, preservando assim os quadros partidários de ações repressivas. Além desses exemplos estimulantes, chegam ao nosso conhecimento outras contribuições espontâneas de pessoas que acreditam nos comunistas, e confiam no seu Partido.

E para concluir cada um de nós deve rever a lista dos seus amigos e planificar a sua atividade a par da planificação da organização a que pertença. E não descansar enquanto não alcançar a todos, organizando-os em círculos de amigos, onde a palavra do Partido seja ouvida, discutida e aplicada a sua política. O amigo contribui, ajuda, mas deve ser um amigo participante, informado do que diz e do que faz o Partido, o que pretende dos amigos e aliados, indicando a todos qual a direção a seguir em cada situação concreta. O trabalho de finanças é político e deve render politicamente. E um rendimento político nessa modalidade só é possível se tiver um caráter marcante de massa além da sua programação e controle. Nos organismos partidários devemos ser intrínsecos no controle da tarefa de finanças. Não compactuar com a negligência oportunista onde quer que se manifeste. Cada um de nós e o conjunto do Partido somos responsáveis pelo êxito da tarefa. E só assim, no conjunto das tarefas partidárias, contribuiremos para impulsionar a atividade do Partido na mobilização e no comando político e ideológico de milhões de brasileiros na luta contra a ditadura e o imperialismo, pelo restabelecimento das liberdades democráticas e pelo progresso social.

# Maior Intervenção do Estado Nos Conflitos Trabalhistas

PEDRO ALVES

Realizou-se em Sofia, Bulgária, em dezembro de 1966, a 16.ª reunião do Conselho Geral da Federação Sindical Mundial (FSM). Naquela oportunidade examinou-se, entre outras importantes questões do movimento operário, a intervenção cada vez maior do Estado capitalista nos conflitos entre patrões e empregados.

Para os trabalhadores brasileiros a análise desse problema assume, nas condições atuais, grande relevo. Antes do golpe de abril de 64, nas lutas dos trabalhadores por suas reivindicações particularmente nas lutas por reajustes salariais, a intervenção do Estado se dava, no fundamental, através do Ministério do Trabalho, da Justiça trabalhista e dos órgãos de repressão policial, militar etc. Utilizando, porém, as liberdades existentes, os trabalhadores conseguiam, através da organização e da luta, manter e mesmo ampliar suas conquistas e obter reajustes salariais mais compatíveis com suas necessidades. Intervinham, ao mesmo tempo, com maior intensidade, na vida política do país, somando-se a outras forças na luta por modificações estruturais e progressistas necessárias à Nação.

Esse processo foi interrompido de modo violento com o golpe militar de abril. A ditadura então instalada limitou ao extremo as liberdades democráticas e sindicais que até aquela data, embora com restrições, vigoravam, interveio nos Sindicatos, prendeu, exilou, assessorou militantes sindicais, baixou, enfim, numerosas leis, decretos e portarias, objetivando: impedir o exercício do direito de greve e a livre escolha, pelos trabalhadores, de seus representantes, nas eleições sindicais; congelar e reduzir salários e vencimentos; diminuir os benefícios da previdência social; liquidar a estabilidade no emprego e eliminar outras conquistas obtidas pelos trabalhadores no curso de longos anos de luta.

A política econômica e financeira posta em prática pelo governo ditatorial, por imposição do F.M.I., sob o pretexto de combater a inflação, tem como objetivo básico impedir que se reajustem os salários e vencimentos, pelo menos em nível correspondente à elevação do custo de vida, impondo, por outro lado, um congelamento salarial nunca inferior a um ano, reduzindo, deste modo, o salário real dos trabalhadores.

A fim de assegurar a aplicação dessa política, a ditadura pôs em prática as Leis 4.725, 4.923 e os Decretos 15 e 17, que atribuem ao Executivo, poderes absolutos para fixar índices de reajustes salariais destinados a todas as categorias profissionais, estabelecendo limitações a possíveis acordos entre patrões e empregados e permitindo a redução do salário mensal em até 25%. Ao mesmo tempo, é oficializada a redução da jornada de trabalho sem manutenção do salário, mediante a simples alegação de se encontrar a empresa em dificuldades econômicas.

financeiras. Restrições semelhantes atingiram o salário-mínimo que, a partir da implantação da ditadura, passou a ser reajustado em nível bem inferior à elevação dos preços dos bens e serviços indispensáveis à vida dos trabalhadores.

Se anteriormente ao golpe a intervenção estatal contra as massas trabalhadoras se dava de maneira menos abusiva, agora o que se verifica é a imposição de toda uma legislação ditatorial com o objetivo de permitir ao patronato nacional e estrangeiro um maior grau de exploração sobre os trabalhadores. Daí porque, na situação presente, as lutas salariais tendem a assumir um aspecto essencialmente político, ao chocar-se diretamente com a política do atual regime e com as imposições de interesses imperialistas, particularmente norte-americanos.

Tendo a ditadura como um dos seus objetivos confiscar os salários, para conseguí-lo trata, antes de mais nada, de esvaziar os Sindicatos, buscando transformá-los em órgãos puramente beneficentes, sem maior expressão, alheios à função que lhes compete primordialmente e que é a de organizar a luta dos trabalhadores contra a brutal exploração de que são vítimas. Contra essa política os trabalhadores brasileiros opõem uma resistência crescente, utilizando inclusive a arma da greve e partindo, em alguns setores, como os bancários, para quebrar as leis de arrocho salarial e restabelecer suas conquistas.

E' dever dos comunistas contribuir de todas as formas para aumentar a resistência e intensificar as lutas, a partir dos locais de trabalho, ampliando para os Sindicatos, sempre numa perspectiva de unidade, a luta contra as restrições impostas pela ditadura, sem submeter-se às limitações que ela pretende opor aos movimentos dos trabalhadores e intensificando o combate para derrotá-la.

## “O mundo em revista”

Está circulando o n.º 4 de “O Mundo em Revista”. Neste número, posto em circulação desde a primeira quinzena do mês passado, os leitores encontrarão os seguintes artigos:

- A Revolução de Outubro e o Internacionalismo Proletário.
- As idéias de Lênin e a Metodologia da Ciência Contemporânea.
- Alcanço e Vigência da Revolução Latino-Americana.
- A Revolução de Outubro e Alguns Problemas do Movimento Comunista Latino-Americano.
- O Partido Comunista da Espanha e o Movimento Operário.

1. Acentua-se o descontentamento popular e já se verificam, com maior frequência, manifestações de resistência e oposição à ditadura. A classe operária, apesar dos enormes obstáculos criados ao desenvolvimento da atividade sindical pela constante intervenção dos agentes policiais e do Ministério do Trabalho, formula suas reivindicações, protesta contra o "Fundo de Garantia", manifesta-se disposta a lutar contra a política salarial da ditadura e começa, nos principais centros industriais, a unir suas forças para a ação. Os trabalhadores do campo iniciam a reorganização dos seus sindicatos e procuram resistir ao não cumprimento das leis trabalhistas por parte dos fazendeiros, já tendo havido greves de longa duração na indústria canieira do Nordeste, ao mesmo tempo que surgem algumas lutas de posseiros. Os servidores públicos reorganizam suas forças, dispostos a lutar contra a penúria em que se encontram. Cresce a combatividade dos estudantes que lutam contra o acordo MEC-USAID e enfrentam com firmeza a brutal repressão policial. São cada vez mais numerosas as manifestações patrióticas contra o opressor imperialista, cresce o ódio popular aos assassinos do povo vietnamita, sendo queimadas, em diversos lugares, bandeiras dos Estados Unidos e vaiado, em Brasília, o Embaixador dos Estados Unidos. Amplos setores da população, tendo à frente intelectuais, jornalistas e personalidades de destaque, inclusive sacerdotes católicos, tomam posição contra a legislação reacionária da ditadura, reclamam sua revogação, assim como a anistia geral, o término dos IPMs e a liberdade para os presos e perseguidos políticos.

2. Com a posse do sr. Costa e Silva na presidência da República tentaram, porém, as forças reacionárias que usurpam o Poder — militares traidores e outros agentes do imperialismo — ampliar a base social da ditadura, anunciando mudanças na política econômico-financeira, a pacificação do país e medidas no sentido da democratização do regime. O sr. Costa e Silva, cuja candidatura foi imposta pelos setores mais reacionários das Forças Armadas, assumiu, por sua vez, compromissos com diversos setores da burguesia. Ampliou, assim, a base política do governo, do qual participam representantes daqueles setores — como o sr. Magalhães Pinto e outros — que se haviam afastado do governo Castelo Branco, embora tivessem participado ativamente do golpe de 64 e defendem o atual regime, que lhes permite a crescente exploração dos trabalhadores. Para favorecer aos mesmos setores das classes dominantes, certas mudanças foram introduzidas na política da ditadura. Foi criticada a política econômico-financeira do sr. Roberto Campos, a qual, como se diz no "Programa de diretrizes básicas" do atual governo, "não logrou alcançar o resultado desejado, seja quanto à retomada do desenvolvimento, seja quanto à contenção da inflação". Alterou-se a fundamentação da política externa, que se apoiava na doutrina da inevitabilidade da guerra mundial e na descarada subordinação ao governo dos Estados Unidos, a fim de melhor mascarar a subordinação do Brasil ao opressor norte-americano. Tudo isso contribuiu para criar um clima de expectativa em mudanças favoráveis ao povo, o qual chegou a in-

fluenciar setores das camadas médias e mesmo da classe operária e paralisou praticamente a oposição.

3. O sr. Costa e Silva representa, no entanto, as mesmas forças do golpe de abril e tem por tarefa, na presidência da República, consolidar o regime imposto à nação e que fez do Brasil ponto de apoio principal da política reacionária e agressiva dos imperialistas dos Estados Unidos na América Latina. Seu governo, como o de seu antecessor, é uma ditadura militar, reacionária e entreguista, que imprime ao desenvolvimento da economia nacional um curso favorável aos interesses dos monopólios norte-americanos, dos latifundiários e dos grandes capitalistas, à custa da crescente exploração das massas trabalhadoras e da espoliação das riquezas nacionais.

Tem sido esta efetivamente a orientação de seu governo em todos os terrenos. E' ele o defensor intransigente da nova Constituição fascizante, que afasta o povo da vida política, liquida na prática as garantias individuais, anula as conquistas sociais dos trabalhadores, acaba com a autonomia estadual e municipal, atribui poderes absolutos ao presidente da República e reduz o Poder Legislativo ao papel subalterno de mero registrador das decisões do Executivo.

Ao mesmo tempo, utiliza-se da legislação reacionária para dar cobertura legal à violência policial e ao arbítrio dos encarregados dos IPMs, para encarcerar trabalhadores, estudantes, intelectuais e sacerdotes. Mobiliza milhares de policiais contra um Congresso de estudantes. Além da famigerada Lei de Segurança, volta aos Atos Institucionais da ditadura para perseguir jornalistas e democratas em geral. Prende dirigentes sindicais que levantam as reivindicações dos trabalhadores e, apesar das promessas demagógicas do ministro do Trabalho, intervém no movimento sindical e procura subordiná-lo aos interesses da ditadura e dos patrões.

No terreno da política econômico-financeira, dá continuidade à orientação ditada pelo Fundo Monetário Internacional (FMI). Com o chamado "Programa de Diretrizes Básicas", procura, de fato, favorecer a determinados setores das classes dominantes. Afirmando que a inflação é na presente conjuntura uma "inflação de custos", arrola uma série de medidas que facultem maiores lucros para os grandes empresários brasileiros e os monopólios imperialistas. E' mantida, porém, a política salarial de brutal redução do salário real instituída pelo sr. Roberto Campos, política que, além de anti-social, é economicamente nociva ao desenvolvimento do país. Ao mesmo tempo, que anuncia a "reversão à tendência à estatização", o que constitui uma ameaça as empresas estatais, como a Petrobrás, o governo intensifica sua intervenção na economia do país em benefício dos patrões e contra a classe operária, reduzindo por lei seus salários, restringindo o direito de greve, dificultando sua organização, procurando, enfim, impedir que a classe operária lute em defesa de seus interesses.

No terreno da política externa, prossegue, no essencial, a crescente submissão do Brasil, no campo internacional, à orientação ditada pelo

Departamento de Estado do governo de Washington. E' o que se passa na ONU, como se verificou recentemente ao ser debatido em sua Assembleia Extraordinária o conflito no Oriente Médio. E' igualmente na OEA, onde apoia as medidas propostas pelo governo da Venezuela, que visam a novas e maiores provocações contra Cuba. Como, diante da repulsa continental, não foi possível contar na OEA com os votos necessários à constituição da chamada Força Interamericana de Paz (FIP) — organização militar permanente de repressão ao movimento democrático e de libertação nacional dos povos latino-americanos —, trata a ditadura brasileira de entender-se com os "gorilas" da Argentina, do Paraguai, da Bolívia e do Peru para porer suas respectivas Forças Armadas em condições de atuarem coletivamente, intervindo em qualquer país da América Latina, segundo os preceitos da "doutrina Johnson", de intervenção armada e punitiva para salvaguardar a "ordem" e a estabilidade de go-

vernos reacionários e pró-imperialistas.

mentos coercitivos, como as leis 4.725 e 4.903 e os decretos-leis 15 e 17, facultam à ditadura colocar-se acima da Justiça do Trabalho e limitar os reajustamentos salariais, liquidando por completo a liberdade de contrato de trabalho entre patrões e operários. O nível de vida das massas foi ainda agravado com o aumento geral de impostos e taxas, de tarifas dos serviços públicos, dos transportes urbanos e com as modificações introduzidas na lei do inquilinato, que contribuem para agravar o problema da habitação para as grandes massas.

No campo, a situação é ainda mais séria. Além do desemprego e das perseguições, os fazendeiros violam sistematicamente a legislação trabalhista e os preceitos mais elementares do Estatuto do Trabalhador Rural relativos ao salário mínimo, descanso semanal remunerado, férias, aviso prévio, indenização por dispensa do trabalho, etc. Se, em São Paulo, o que se vê é o trabalhador

## Nota Política da Comissão

maltrapilho, como reconhece um ex-presidente da reacionária Associação Rural Brasileira em declaração ao "Correio da Manhã" (3-6-67) no interior do Nordeste são multidões famintas que invadem cidades e povoados em busca de alimentos. Como se diz no Memorial da Federação dos Trabalhadores da Agricultura de Pernambuco, "com a revolução (quer dizer, o golpe de 1964), os trabalhadores perderam o fato o salário e a terra".

Acentua-se o processo de pauperização das camadas médias urbanas, sendo cada vez maiores as dificuldades que enfrentam os estudantes e de crescentes privações a situação dos servidores públicos. De amplos setores de profissionais liberais. Os professores, por exemplo, são levados a movimentos grevistas e a demonstrações de protesto, e Minas Gerais, no Ceará e noutros Estados, para conseguir receber seus vencimentos, que os governantes de xam do pagar por meses seguidos.

Amplos setores da pequena média burguesia industrial e comercial são literalmente esmagados.

Agravam-se seriamente as condições de vida das massas trabalhadoras. Entre 1965 e 67, os salários reais da classe operária caíram em mais de 40%, já que os reajustes salariais foram calculados com base num "resíduo inflacionário" sempre muito inferior ao efetivo encarecimento do custo da vida. O salário mínimo teve até agora, a partir de 1964, o aumento aproximadamente de 150%, enquanto os preços dos gêneros de primeira necessidade subiram em mais de 250%. Instru-

mentos reacionários e pró-imperialistas.

4. Em gritante contraste com a linguagem demagógica do sr. Costa e Silva, que levanta como lema de seu governo a "meta homem", ou seja, a promessa de bem-estar para o povo e de elevação do nível de vida dos trabalhadores, a política da ditadura orienta-se em benefício de um punhado de latifundiários e grandes capitalistas, bem como dos monopólios norte-americanos, contra os interesses da imensa maioria da população.



economicamente pelo processo de concentração de capital e da renda, que decorre da dominação imperialista e é acelerado pela política econômico-financeira do governo.

A ditadura se opõe, assim, aos interesses da esmagadora maioria da nação. Apesar de toda a legislação reacionária em vigor e dos esforços demagógicos que acompanharam a troca de marcehais na presidência da República, não conseguiram os generais golpistas e demais agentes do imperialismo a tão desejada e proclamada tranquilidade política. Tornase evidente a intromissão direta na vida política do país dos setores mais reacionários das Forças Armadas, que querem continuar tutelando a nação. Aumentam as contradições dentro do próprio governo, cuja instabilidade se acentua.

5. O povo não pode, no entanto, alimentar ilusões no atual governo ou em mudanças que possam ser favoráveis à democracia e aos interesses dos trabalhadores, que decorram de simples troca de ho-

nos e médios industriais e comerciais e demais camadas da burguesia nacional e outros setores das classes dominantes objetivamente prejudicados pela crescente dominação imperialista e pela política da ditadura. O movimento de resistência, de oposição e luta ao regime fascizante, pode, assim, adquirir enorme amplitude.

A frente única das forças antiditatorial será formada no curso de ações concretas pelas liberdades democráticas, pelos interesses imediatos dos trabalhadores e do povo em geral, em defesa da soberania nacional, pelo desenvolvimento econômico independente do país. Tendo como elo central a luta pelas liberdades democráticas, as ações de massas devem também orientar-se no sentido de exigir a revogação da legislação reacionária e da Constituição fascizante, a concessão de anistia geral e liberdade para todos os presos e perseguidos políticos.

As lutas dos trabalhadores das cidades e do campo por suas rei-

doção da classe operária. A organização dos trabalhadores nas empresas facilitará sua mobilização para atuar nos sindicatos, criando assim condições para derrotar os policiais e provocadores infiltrados no movimento sindical e transformar os sindicatos em instrumentos de luta em defesa dos interesses dos trabalhadores.

Os trabalhadores do campo, em particular os assalariados agrícolas e os camponeses pobres, à medida que se unem e lutam contra a crescente exploração, iniciam a organização de seus sindicatos, fechados pela reação golpista, que tentou liquidá-los. É indispensável estimular essa atividade, sendo um dever dos operários urbanos dar a maior assistência e ajuda aos seus irmãos do campo, tanto no terreno da organização sindical como no da solidariedade às suas lutas.

Na luta contra o atual regime desempenham importante papel as camadas médias urbanas, em particular os intelectuais, diretamente interessados no progresso cultural do país, assim como a juventude estudantil, que já tem, pela sua combatividade, uma posição de destaque na luta contra o imperialismo norte-americano e contra a ditadura. Ao mesmo tempo que defendem a UNE e demais entidades perseguidas pela reação, devem os estudantes buscar outras formas de organização que lhes permitam maior participação nas lutas por seus interesses específicos e pelas liberdades democráticas, bem como formas de luta que facilitem a unidade com a classe operária, com os camponeses e demais forças democráticas e populares.

6. A minoria reacionária ainda consegue manter a ditadura e levar à prática sua política contra o povo e a nação, porque as forças operárias, populares e democráticas se acham desorganizadas e desunidas. Organizadas e unidas, as massas trabalhadoras, através da ação, poderão conquistar a legalidade de fato, poderão obrigar a minoria reacionária a recuar, terão condições para enfrentar com êxito a violência da ditadura e acabá-la por derrotá-la. Isto exige que, sem deixar de utilizar todas as formas legais de luta, as forças populares não se limitem nas ações de massas aos marcos das leis impostas pelo atual regime. Desde que correspondam à situação concreta e ao nível de consciência das massas, as lutas contra a ditadura são sempre justas, quaisquer que sejam as formas que tomem.

Será a organização das massas que impulsionará a unidade das forças políticas, das correntes democráticas e progressistas. Os comunistas dirigem-se muito especialmente às forças de esquerda, que compreendem a necessidade de transformações revolucionárias e por elas lutam, e as conclamam à unidade de ação em defesa das reivindicações e dos direitos dos trabalhadores e do povo, contra a ditadura, a fim de constituírem, juntamente com o Partido Comunista, o núcleo firme e consequente da ampla frente das forças antiditatoriais.

Apelando para a unidade de todos os patriotas e democratas em torno de uma ampla plataforma comum, que represente os interesses comuns e seja, através do mais amplo e livre diálogo, coletivamente elaborada, os comunistas combatem ao mesmo

tempo a tendência à passividade, a ficar de braços abertos à espera das ações espontâneas, e a tendência a ações aventureiras, que não levam em conta a situação concreta e o nível de consciência das massas e que, por isso, delas se separam e dão armas a reação.

A unidade das forças políticas contrárias à ditadura e ao atual regime é possível, mas não poderá resultar apenas dos entendimentos de cúpula. Deve ser conquistada na ação, entre o povo.

7. A luta contra o atual regime é inseparável da luta contra o opressor estrangeiro, o imperialismo norte-americano, que é o inimigo principal de nosso povo. É indispensável, no momento atual, intensificar a luta contra a criminoso guerra no Vietnam, exigindo que cessem os bombardeios da República Democrática do Vietnam e que as tropas do imperialismo e de seus asseclas retirem-se do território do Vietnam do Sul, e desenvolvendo em nosso país um amplo movimento de solidariedade ao heróico povo vietnamita. Ao mesmo tempo, é necessário intensificar a luta em defesa da paz mundial, apoiando a política de paz e coexistência pacífica da União Soviética, em especial sua firme posição ao lado dos povos árabes, contra a agressão dos imperialistas e seus agentes do Estado de Israel, pela completa eliminação das consequências da agressão. Devemos saudar o vigoroso movimento contra a guerra de amplos setores democráticos e progressistas dos Estados Unidos e dar especial destaque e todo nosso apoio ao heróico movimento das populações negras daquele país contra a miséria e as discriminações raciais de que são vítimas.

É também necessário intensificar a solidariedade ao povo cubano e a todos os patriotas que em diversos países do Continente lutam sob as mais diversas formas, inclusive de armas na mão, contra o imperialismo norte-americano, pela libertação nacional e o progresso social. O apoio ao povo boliviano exige, neste momento, lutar contra a agressão militar dos Estados Unidos e, muito particularmente, a participação do governo brasileiro nessa agressão.

Precisamos denunciar as diversas manifestações da dominação imperialista em nosso país, intensificar a luta contra a OEA, contra a participação na FIP, desmascarar o conteúdo reacionário da "ajuda" americana da "Aliança para o Progresso" e do pretendo mercado comum latino-americano, e exigir a saída do país dos inúmeros espíões e agentes norte-americanos e de suas diversas organizações, como os chamados corpos da paz e outros.

A luta contra o imperialismo é inseparável da luta contra seus agentes e sustentáculos internos, em particular os latifundiários, e por uma reforma agrária radical. Ao lutar contra a ditadura, os comunistas esforçam-se por ganhar as grandes massas para a luta pela vitória da revolução nacional e democrática, pelo triunfo do socialismo em nosso país.

Agosto de 1967.

A Comissão Executiva do Comitê Central do Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

tica

## Executiva

mens no Poder. Os trabalhadores não podem também iludir-se com as promessas do governo e dos patrões. Só através da luta poderão conquistar maior participação na distribuição da renda nacional, pois não serão as escolas dos exploradores ou os programas e as leis da ditadura que elevarão salários e vencimentos ou poderão melhorar o nível de vida das massas exploradas.

Os interesses da nação exigem a derrota da ditadura e a substituição do atual regime por outro efetivamente democrático, que permita às forças patrióticas, democráticas e progressistas impor sua vontade à minoria reacionária e entreguista, abrindo caminho para a solução revolucionária dos problemas brasileiros.

O êxito da luta contra a ditadura dependerá fundamentalmente da unidade de ação das amplas forças que são por ela prejudicadas, as quais, como assinalamos, compreendem os operários, os camponeses, os empregados, os estudantes, os professores e os profissionais liberais, os peque-

vindicações econômicas, pela elevação de salários, contra a carestia da vida e contra a política salarial da ditadura tem, nas atuais condições de nosso país, objetivamente, um caráter político. Mas, para que possam efetivamente contribuir para a derrota da ditadura é indispensável que sejam organizadas e conscientemente dirigidas. Cabe aos comunistas a tarefa decisiva de organizar os trabalhadores nos locais de trabalho, de impulsionar suas lutas e de transformar as ações espontâneas, que já se iniciam, em lutas conscientes pelas suas reivindicações imediatas, desde as mais elementares, em lutas pela derrota da ditadura.

Ao mesmo tempo, é indispensável participar ativamente da vida sindical, lutando pela liberdade e autonomia dos sindicatos, contra o pagamento do imposto sindical, contra o atestado de ideologia, pela livre eleição de suas diretorias. Por piores que sejam as condições a que foram reduzidos os sindicatos, é através deles que será possível desenvolver e consolidar a unidade

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 9/29/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

~~TOP SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

For the information of the Bureau and New York,  
on 9/28/67 CG 5824-S\* advised that on that date in Phil-  
adelphia, Pa., CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S had obtained their  
Solo legend passports in the names of SYDNEY S. LESSER and  
EVALIN LESSER. According to CG 5824-S\*, no difficulty had  
been encountered.

Classified by 7157  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2d3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
11/76

REC 6

100-428091-6522

EX-113

6 OCT 3 1967

1-904 910

③ Bureau (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)

1-Chicago

WAB:MDW

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

6 OCT 5 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Document does not pertain to Secret  
As CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S were not  
re-released to NY  
re-released to NY  
10/24/73  
pe/10/24/73



## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 9/28/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAG, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On 9/27/67, NY 694-S\* transmitted to the Soviets,  
 via a New York City drop, several ciphered-partially coded  
 microfilmed messages, the plain texts of which are as follows:

(1) "CCCPSU - Urgent

"Dear Comrades,

"Comrade HALL asked me to convey the following to  
 you:

"In view of circumstances that have developed in the  
 USA - class struggles, wide-spread and numerous strikes,  
 constant activity of peace forces, as well as continuing  
 struggle in Negro ghettos taking place in a period of  
 unfolding political activity and preparations now being  
 made for the 1968 presidential and congressional elections -  
 we are faced again with a very critical financial situation.

"Also, because we have taken some big steps in  
 investing many tens of thousands of dollars in printing  
 presses and other equipment to prepare for the launching of  
 our daily paper, our financial pressures are most immense.  
 Our reserve is being used up fast now and we are beginning  
 to depend on loans. We would therefore most respectfully  
 ask if it is possible to speed up delivery of money prior to  
 November date which you gave for second delivery.

1-904, 9+0  
 13 - Bureau (RM) REC-59 100-428091-6523  
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM) EX-106  
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)  
 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub (TALANOV) (341)  
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb  
 (8)

OCT 4 1967

Approved: [Signature]  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

57 OCT 2 1967

NY 100-134637

"Many possibilities will be lost by our Party because of our inability to resolve urgent matters that require finances. I hesitated to make this urgent request in view of our prior understanding, but a quicker response to our request ~~would~~ would be of great help to our Party and the class struggle generally in these turbulent moments when time is most essential.

"The publicity and the bourgeois press articles about our Party receiving a large inheritance are deliberately exaggerated to hamper our drive for funds. Not only have the amounts of this been exaggerated, but our USA government is doing everything possible so that we will not receive this inheritance. Even if we should win a legal point, a long time may elapse before we can see some of this money.

"As always, we are most grateful for your comradely and timely solidarity and aid.

"With warm fraternal greetings,

"CG 5824-S\*  
International Affairs Department  
CPUSA"

(2) "CCCPSU

"Dear Comrades:

"This is to notify you about our delegation going over to participate in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution:

"GUS HALL - General Secretary, NC, CPUSA  
HENRY WINSTON - Chairman, NC, CPUSA  
JAMES JACKSON - Chairman, International Affairs  
Department, NC, NEB, CPUSA  
CG 5824-S\* - Secretary, International Affairs Department,  
NC, NEB, CPUSA  
MICKEY LIMA - Chairman, Northern California  
District, NC, NEB, CPUSA

NY 100-134637

"We would also like to remind you that comrade CG 5824-S\* is one of the few charter members of the CPUSA, and has had continuous membership on the National Committee for 33 years.

"We would suggest that visas for all comrades except CG 5824-S\* be picked up in Washington, D. C. Visa for CG 5824-S\*, since he travels under difficult circumstances, should be picked up in Prague. He will travel under name SYDNEY S. LESSER.

"We also like to remind you that last summer you had invited wives of comrade GUS HALL and comrade HENRY WINSTON. Therefore it would be necessary to leave visas for them also in Washington, D. C. We took into consideration your standing invitation to CG 5824-S\* when we named five delegates.

"We would like to suggest that it would be well to invite a separate delegate to represent the CP of Puerto Rico. It would be our suggestion that this be the old veteran CP leader JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, Chairman of the CP of Puerto Rico. On this matter, we would like to get a reply from you via radio so that we may notify him immediately and have him prepare.

"With warm fraternal greetings,

"GUS HALL,  
General Secretary,  
CPUSA"

(Re above, see NY airtel 9/1/67)

NY 100-134637

(3) "CCCPSU

"Dear Comrades:

"Comrade GUS HALL has asked me to tell you that you will very soon hear from us the names of the trade union delegation invited for the November 7 Celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. As soon as we verify these names we will notify you. Comrade GEORGE MEYERS traveled to many states talking personally to some prominent trade unionists about this to get the best delegates.

"After Comrade HERB APTHEKER's coming visit to USSR and after the completion of his lectures, he will be making an extensive tour of many countries. At the time of the Stockholm Peace Conference he received invitations from many countries on every continent, but he will start his tour only after he has ended his visit in USSR.

"CG 5824-S\* - International  
Affairs Department"

(4) "CCCPSU

"Dear Comrades:

"Regardless of our sharp differences with the members of the editorial staff of the "Freiheit," we suggest it would be good if any and all news material written by Novosti Press Agency in the Jewish language be sent to them daily. We have learned from their editors that no such correspondence and views have been sent to them. We heard from them that you sometime publish such material. It would help toward better understanding of the Soviet position in the Middle East by Jewish leaders."

- (5) "Note: Buildings in area of drop Gerta (23rd and 1st Ave.) are being demolished. Therefore eliminate Gerta - Drop Tessie next. If closed, use drop Jane."

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Conrad *Downing*

FROM : *Downing* F. Downing

SUBJECT: *SOLO*  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: October 2, 1967

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/2/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

### ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J.A. Sizoo, Mr. R.C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

REC-59

HS:ccb  
(7)

EX 106

100-428091-6524

6 OCT 4 1967

57 OCT 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : *MR. [unclear]* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*S-R. [unclear]*

DATE: 9/29/67

Re previous correspondence concerning the investigation being conducted by the Securities and Exchange Commission into alleged manipulation of stocks being traded on the American Stock Exchange.

For completion of files of the Bureau and New York in this matter, there is enclosed herewith one copy each of a newspaper clipping which appeared in the "Chicago Daily News" of September 21, 1967. The contents thereof are self-explanatory.

REC 6 100-428091-6525

6 OCT 6 1967

ENCLOSURE

1- 904, 978

- ②-Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

6 OCT 10 1967

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

1 copy newspaper clipping re stock manipulation matter

RE: SOLO  
IS-C

Bufile 100-428091

CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGlet to Bureau 9/29/67



100-428091-6525

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/8/67

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS-C

ReBulet, 9/19/67 requesting recommendations  
to bolster the profit-making facility of the cover  
company.

Since the cover company is located in Chicago,  
and the details of its day-by-day operation are not known  
to the NYO, it is felt that the NYO should defer to the  
Chicago office as regards this matter.

REC 6

100-428091-6526

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B)(RM)  
1-New York.

ACB:jca  
(4)

6 OCT 6 1967



5010-108

6 OCT 10 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/3/67

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ReBulet, 9/19/67 regarding the proposed conversion of the source's retirement fund to United States savings bonds.

This matter has been thoroughly discussed with NY 694-S\*, there having been explained to him the burdensome administrative operations and expense involved in the current method of handling the retirement fund.

He has expressed complete agreement with the proposal that current and future retirement funds be converted into United States savings bonds.

100-428091-6527  
2-Bureau (RM)  
1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B)  
1-New York

ACB:jca  
(4)

REC 6

100-428091-6527

6 OCT 6 1967



5010-108

OCT 10 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/3/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are two Xerox copies for the Bureau and one Xerox copy for New York of an eight-page leaflet entitled, "PELA UNIDADE DO PARTIDO," a special supplement of "Voz Operaria," organ of the Central Committee, Brazilian CP. This leaflet was received on 10/2/67 addressed to JOHN SHOULDERS, In Care Of Modern Book Store, 6624 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626, and was picked up by CS [redacted] on the same date. The envelope was postmarked 9/26/67, place illegible, although the following is a possible rendering thereof: "APTLARGODOMACHADO."

The original is enclosed herewith for the New York Office to be furnished to CG 5824-S\*, now in NYC, for transmittal to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

1-904 9/10  
ENCLOSURE  
③-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(5)

Hand. to  
AGENCY CIA  
INFO. REQ.  
DATE 10/5/67  
HOW FOR 6/2/5  
BY RCR/jmg

EX-103

REC-41

100-428091-6528

6 OCT 9 1967

Approved: mjg/ps

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

79 OCT 12 1967

ENCLOSURES (2) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

2 Xerox copies of leaflet "PELA UNIDADE DO  
PARTIDO"

RE: SOLO

IS-C

Bufile 100-428091

CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGairtel to Bureau 10/3/67



100-428091-6528

ENCLOSURE

PELA UNIDADE  
DO PARTIDO

(Resolução do Comitê Central do  
Partido Comunista Brasileiro)

Suplemento Especial de "Voz Operária"

1967

## VIOLAÇÃO DO CENTRALISMO DEMOCRÁTICO

1 — O centralismo democrático é a base da estrutura e do funcionamento do nosso Partido. Não se trata, evidentemente, de mero dispositivo formal incluído nos Estatutos. Mas de uma exigência do caráter revolucionário do Partido como organização política da classe operária, da natureza de suas tarefas e de seus fins. Por isso mesmo é que o centralismo democrático se inclui entre os princípios de organização dos partidos marxistas. É o princípio diretor. Repetem-se, entretanto, ultimamente, violações do centralismo democrático.

Os Comitês Estaduais de São Paulo, Estado do Rio e Rio Grande do Sul, sob a influência de membros do Comitê Central, procuram imprimir à atividade partidária uma orientação divergente da orientação do Comitê Central e das diretivas da Comissão Executiva. Essa diversidade de orientação se concretizou, às vezes, no conteúdo de jornais estaduais, como os publicados no Rio Grande do Sul e no Estado do Rio, e de documentos descidos ao Partido. Recentemente, em São Paulo e no Rio Grande do Sul, a orientação transmitida às organizações partidárias, através de documentos, a respeito da agressão do Estado de Israel aos países árabes, chocava-se com a orientação dada pela Comissão Executiva sobre a mesma questão. O conteúdo desses documentos divergia, além disso, da Resolução do Comitê Central sobre a situação internacional e revelava nitidamen-

te uma posição anti-soviética. A Comissão Executiva determinou que os mesmos fossem recolhidos.

A diversidade de orientação por parte de Comitês Estaduais, violando o centralismo democrático, a subordinação de todos os órgãos e organizações partidárias ao Comitê Central, tem levado ao rompimento da unidade de ação dos comunistas em sua atividade entre as massas. Isso já ocorre no movimento sindical e, mais acentuadamente, no movimento estudantil.

Procura-se, por outro lado, impedir que a orientação da direção central desça normalmente a todos os órgãos e organizações do Partido, não distribuindo a «Voz Operária» e outros materiais editados pela Comissão Executiva. No Estado do Rio, desde dezembro do ano passado foi suspensa, pelo Secretariado Estadual, a distribuição da «Voz Operária», da «Revista Internacional» e de todos os folhetos publicados pela Comissão Executiva. Todos esses materiais, além do Manifesto lançado pela Comissão Executiva em janeiro, não foram sequer retirados do local em que se encontravam. A situação chegou a tal ponto que dois depósitos, indicados pelo secretariado do Comitê Estadual do Estado do Rio para entrega de materiais pela SAP do Comitê Central, ficaram lotados, com mais de 80 volumes. Caracteriza-se, assim, o boicote aos órgãos da direção central.

## VIOLAÇÃO DAS NORMAS DO DEBATE

2 — Outro aspecto dessa questão consiste em que camaradas procuram imprimir à atividade partidária a orientação divergente por eles defendida no debate das Teses apresentadas pelo Comitê Central. Dessa maneira, violam também as normas do debate.

O processo do debate se realiza através de suas reuniões, (assembléias e conferências) e da imprensa partidária («Tribuna de Debate»). E se corôa com o ato final, quando os delegados, representando o coletivo partidário, decidem sobre as questões em discussão e elegem o novo Comitê Central. Mas camaradas divergentes, alguns deles membros do Comitê Central, procuram orientar o Partido, desde agora, de acordo com suas opiniões individuais. Violam, portanto, ao mesmo tempo, os Estatutos e as Normas do debate. Sobrepoem-se ao coletivo partidário.

rio. Antidemocráticamente, tentam impôr suas opiniões ao Partido.

As resoluções sobre as Teses são tomadas, nas reuniões do debate, em função do próprio debate e não devem orientar a atividade prática do Partido. Representam o pensamento da maioria dos comunistas desta ou daquela organização. O pensamento da maioria dos membros do Partido surgirá do ato final do debate, das resoluções então aprovadas, que passarão a ser obrigatórias para todos os membros, órgãos e organizações. Admitir o contrário, seria admitir que cada organização do Partido passasse a adotar uma orientação própria, rompendo a estrutura do Partido como sistema de organizações, dirigido por um centro único, que é o Comitê Central. Teríamos o fracionamento do Partido, a quebra da unidade de disciplina e da unidade de ação dos comunistas. E esse é o caminho da desagregação orgânica do Partido.

## FRACIONISMO NA GUANABARA

3 — Essa atividade desagregadora de alguns camaradas já se transformou, no Estado da Guanabara, em atividade abertamente fracionista e antipartido. Três ex-membros do Comitê Estadual da Guanabara, não conseguindo atrair para suas posições a maioria do Partido no Estado, organizaram-se em grupo, e romperam as ligações partidárias. Publicam seu próprio jornal, no qual atacam o Comitê

Central e combatem suas resoluções e sua orientação. Simularam a realização de uma conferência paralelamente à conferência da organização Estadual da Guanabara e se apresentam falsamente como sendo a direção do Partido no Estado, procurando ludibriar militantes e simpatizantes. O camarada Paulo, membro do Comitê Central, é incluído entre os membros dessa falsa direção estadual.

## ATIVIDADE ANTIPARTIDÁRIA DE MENEZES

4 — A Comissão Executiva já informou ao Partido que o camarada Menezes, tomando uma decisão individual, que não transmitiu sequer à organização em que atua, foi a Cuba participar da reunião da OLAS. Em Cuba, pelo rádio e através declarações a jornais, atacou a direção de nosso Partido e sua orientação política.

Antes mesmo do golpe de 1964, o camarada Menezes, sendo membro da Comissão Executiva do Comitê Central, não se integrava em sua atividade. Dela participava quase formalmente, ao mesmo tempo que procurava desenvolver uma atividade paralela à da direção e fora das funções que lhe cabiam. A conciliação ideológica então reinante na Comissão Executiva facilitava essa conduta individualista e anárquica do camarada Menezes.

Após o golpe e a partir da reunião de maio de 1965, o Comitê Central iniciou, autocríticamente, o combate aos erros e deficiências de seu funcionamento. A Comissão Executiva, em cumprimento às resoluções do Comitê Central, tem feito esforços no sentido de desenvolver o método da direção coletiva e da responsabilidade individual de seus membros, da planificação e do controle de seu trabalho nas diversas frentes. O camarada Menezes, mantido na Comissão Executiva eleita naquela reunião do Comitê Central, não se empenhou nesse esforço autocrítico. Ao contrário, abandonou o cargo que

exercia e foi, por isso, dele destituído pelo Comitê Central.

Na carta enviada em dezembro do ano passado à Comissão Executiva, o camarada Menezes afirmava o seguinte: «Solicitando demissão da atual Executiva — como o faço aqui — desejo tornar público que minha disposição é lutar revolucionariamente junto com as massas, e jamais ficar à espera das regras do jogo político burocrático e convencional que impera na liderança».

Está bastante claro que, nessa passagem, o camarada Menezes revela sua disposição de não se submeter aos princípios e normas da vida partidária, de não levar em conta o papel dirigente do Comitê Central, de atuar, enfim, de acordo com suas próprias opiniões e sua vontade, colocando-se fora e acima do Partido. E assim agiu, agora, na viagem a Cuba.

Agindo como agiu, o camarada Menezes descumpriu seus deveres de membro do Comitê Central, violou, sob diversos aspectos, as normas de funcionamento do Partido, assumiu atitude antipartidária. Em pleno processo de realização do debate e em evidente manifestação de individualismo pequeno-burguês, que nada tem a ver com a ideologia do proletariado, o camarada Menezes anuncia, internacional e publicamente, a orientação própria que segue. Mostra dessa maneira menosprezo pelo coletivo partidário. Revela que, para ele,

na realidade, o debate nada significa.

Devido à natureza e à gravidade das faltas cometidas pelo ca-

márcia Menezes, o Comitê Central considera que seu comportamento é incompatível com a condição de membro do Partido.

## DEFENDER O PARTIDO CONTRA O LIQUIDACIONISMO PEQUENO-BURGUEZ

5 — O movimento antiimperialista, principalmente após a Segunda Guerra Mundial, cresceu e se ampliou no Brasil. Isso se deve a fatores objetivos e também a atividade de nosso Partido.

O desenvolvimento do capitalismo em nosso país determinou importantes transformações na sociedade brasileira. Assimilemos, aqui, o desenvolvimento numérico e qualitativo da classe operária. E a formação de numerosa classe média urbana, em decorrência do acelerado crescimento das cidades (em 1965, o total de habitantes das cidades já se equiparava ao das zonas rurais). Sob outro aspecto, o desenvolvimento econômico, nas condições de dominação imperialista e de conservação do latifúndio, acentuou a contradição entre a maioria da nação, de um lado, e, do outro, o imperialismo, seus agentes e aliados internos. O movimento nacionalista e democrático adquiriu impulso e amplitude.

O crescimento qualitativo e quantitativo do proletariado se traduziu, politicamente, na crescente influência do movimento operário na vida nacional. Entretanto, a maior participação de outras forças sociais, em particular de amplos setores da pequena burguesia urbana, nas lutas antiimperialistas e democráticas aprofundou sua influência ideológica nessas lutas.

Essa influência se exerceu e se exerce sobre o Partido. E encontrou, no interior mesmo do Partido, entre militantes e dirigentes ideologicamente débeis, campo fértil para se desenvolver.

Acentuou-se, assim, a influência da ideologia burguesa e pequeno-burguesa nas fileiras do Partido, alimentando tendências de «esquerda» e também de direita, no terreno político como no de organização. No terreno de organização, as manifestações dessas tendências iam do liberalismo e do «autonomismo» até o ressurgimento de velhas práticas mandonistas sob formas novas, o individualismo, o desprezo pela direção coletiva, pelo pensamento do coletivo partidário. No terreno político, iam do reboquismo à burguesia até a prostermação diante dos grupos ultraesquerdistas da pequena-burguesia. Para o desenvolvimento dessas tendências contribuíram, sem dúvida, a influência das posições errôneas e da atividade, no movimento comunista mundial, do grupo de Mao-tse Tung e, de modo particular, falsas concepções difundidas na América Latina sobre a revolução no Continente.

Após a derrota sofrida em abril de 1964, houve, no Partido, uma exacerbção dessas tendências, principalmente do «esquerdismo».



entre alguns dirigentes e o setor de estudantes secundaristas e universitários. Queremos nos referir, aqui, apenas a manifestações dessas tendências no terreno de organização. Ataques a dirigentes e à direção do Partido eram acompanhados da violação das normas da vida partidária. Chegava-se a negar o centralismo democrático, em seus diversos aspectos. E já se procura difundir, com o rótulo de marxista, uma «nova concepção» sobre o Partido, a qual é, na realidade, a negação da concepção marxista. Essa «nova concepção» propala a «caducidade» dos partidos comunistas ditos ortodoxos, a necessidade de «romper qualquer dependência com os partidos políticos para substituir as desfalecentes vanguardas políticas». Afirma que «a guerrilha é o partido em gestação» e que a «tônica principal deve recair no desenvolvimento da guerra de guerrilhas e não no fortalecimento dos partidos». Defende a necessidade da suspensão temporária da democracia interna e da abolição temporária do centralismo democrático. E, enfim, o velho liquidacionismo que se apresenta com novas vestes e fantasiado de marxismo criador. O resultado seria que a classe operária, sem o seu partido, se transformaria num apêndice político da pequena burguesia. Aliás, não é por acaso que se procura reduzir ou negar o papel revolucionário da classe operária nos países da América Latina, exaltando o revolucionarismo de setores da pequena burguesia, destacadamente os intelectuais e os estudantes. E se defende a falsa tese de que, no âmbito internacional, a contradição entre o sistema

socialista mundial e o imperialismo não é a principal, mas sim a que existe entre os países coloniais e dependentes e o imperialismo, resvalando daí para o anti-sovietismo.

A diversidade e amplitude das forças sociais que participam da luta antiimperialista e democrática é um fator de grande importância no desenvolvimento da revolução brasileira. Devemos levar na devida conta esse fato, de modo que nossa orientação política concorra efetivamente para unir todas essas forças à classe operária na ação comum contra o principal inimigo de nosso povo. Mas, a primeira condição para que possamos cumprir com êxito essa tarefa é o fortalecimento ideológico e orgânico do Partido.

A violação das normas e princípios da vida partidária, que se torna mais grave nas atuais condições de clandestinidade, rompe a unidade de ação dos comunistas, debilita sua atividade entre as massas, entrava o desenvolvimento da luta contra a ditadura. E constitui obstáculo a que a Comissão Executiva leve à prática as resoluções do Comitê Central, ao mesmo tempo que perturba a realização do debate. A título de exercer o direito de divergir, procura-se imprimir à atividade partidária uma orientação divergente, o que deve ser combatido. Por outro lado, as manifestações de fracionismo e de luta antipartido não podem ser toleradas. O Partido deve chegar ao final do debate como um sistema de organizações e não como um amontoado de frações.

Neste caso, está em jogo a própria existência do Partido, seu caráter de organização política da classe operária. O primeiro dever dos comunistas é defender seu Partido. Mais imperioso ainda é esse

dever para o Comitê Central, como centro dirigente, e, individualmente, para cada membro do Comitê Central, que recebeu das mãos do Partido, no Congresso anterior, esse honroso cargo.

## DECISÕES DO COMITÊ CENTRAL

6 — Em consequência desses fatos, o Comitê Central resolve:

a) aprovar as medidas tomadas pela Comissão Executiva em relação à Conferência da OLAS, ao camarada Menezes e ao recolhimento de materiais publicados pelo C.E. de São Paulo e pelo C.E. do Rio Grande do Sul;

b) considerar o comportamento do camarada Menezes incompatível com a condição de membro do Partido e expulsá-lo;

c) considerar como fracionista e, portanto, contrária à disciplina e à unidade do Partido e incompatível com os Estatutos partidários, a atividade desenvolvida, na Guanabara, por três ex-membros do Comitê Estadual daquele Estado; ratificar a expulsão, pelo Comitê Estadual da Guanabara, de Juca, Hilda e Roberto;

d) expulsar do Partido o camarada Paulo, membro do Comitê Central, pela sua atividade e ligações com o grupo fracionista da Guanabara, estando incluído entre os membros da sua direção;

e) aplicar ao camarada Silveira, por sua atividade divisonista, a pena de suspensão do exercício do cargo de membro do Comitê Central, pelo prazo estabelecido, o que não afeta o seu direito de participar do debate, como membro do Comitê Central;

f) censurar publicamente os camaradas Toledo, Lima e Rodrigo, por não cumprirem seus deveres de membros do Comitê Central e procurarem imprimir à atividade dos Comitês Estaduais em que atuam, uma orientação contrária às resoluções e decisões do Comitê Central e da Comissão Executiva;

g) determinar que a Comissão Executiva tome as medidas que considerar necessário a fim de garantir a distribuição normal, a todos os órgãos e organizações partidárias, da «Voz Operária», da «Revista Internacional» e dos demais materiais por ela editados;

h) autorizar a Comissão Executiva a adotar todas as medidas que se fizerem necessárias e aplicá-las para o cumprimento das decisões acima indicadas.

## TRAVAR A LUTA IDEOLÓGICA EM DEFESA DA UNIDADE DO PARTIDO

7 — A descida, aos órgãos e organizações partidárias, das medidas aprovadas pelo Comitê Central nesta Resolução constitui motivo para que se desenvolva a luta ideológica em defesa da unidade e pelo fortalecimento do Partido. A Comissão Executiva deve planificar sua atividade nesse sentido, tendo em vista, principalmente, ressaltar o papel desempenhado pela classe operária na revolução brasileira, a necessidade do Partido como organização política da classe operária, seu caráter revolucionário e seus princípios de organização e funcionamento. É igualmente necessário que o Partido leve à prática a Resolução sobre a situação internacional aprovada pelo Comitê Central em março deste ano, combatendo todas as manifestações de anti-sovietismo. Adquirem particular importância as comemorações do 50.º aniversário da Revolução Socialista de Outubro.

Ao mesmo tempo, as organizações partidárias devem intensificar

sua atividade entre as massas, principalmente entre a classe operária e os trabalhadores do campo, desenvolvendo a luta por suas reivindicações imediatas, pelos seus interesses e direitos, em defesa das liberdades democráticas e contra a ditadura.

O Comitê Central se dirige a todos os militantes, órgãos e organizações do Partido, alerta-os para a ação desagregadora dos divisionistas e fracionistas e conclama-os a cerrarem fileiras em defesa do Partido, do fortalecimento de sua unidade, do desenvolvimento normal da luta de idéias, do respeito à democracia interna e ao centralismo democrático, a fim de que o debate, como expressão do pensamento e da vontade do coletivo partidário, seja um fator de elevação do nível político, ideológico e orgânico do Partido.

Setembro de 1967.

O Comitê Central do  
Partido Comunista Brasileiro

(Os subtítulos são de responsabilidade da Redação).

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE 1, ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 10/2/67

ReCGlet dated August 31, 1967, concerning efforts to locate a suitable replacement for CG 5824-S\*.

## 1. Steps taken during September, 1967

a. In regard to efforts to defect [redacted] to serve as a leg man for CG 5824-S\*, by separate communication the Bureau has been advised that it is the opinion of this office that there should be a six-month hiatus in our continuing efforts at interviews with [redacted]. Of course, this office will continue to follow the activities of [redacted] through CG 5824-S\* and other sources and should an opportunity present itself, Bureau authority will be requested to immediately take advantage of it.

b. No effort was made to interview [redacted] during the past month in view of his continuing ill health during this period of recuperation from surgery. By separate communication the Bureau has been informed of two possible approaches to [redacted] other than the direct approach at the headquarters of the [redacted] as previously envisioned and authorized by the Bureau. These two other approaches are: 1) through a third party, for example through obtaining the confidence and cooperation of [redacted] and, 2) on a long-range basis through the use of a Special Agent of Jewish ethnic background who might ingratiate himself with [redacted] who would not be aware of the Agent's identity. Ramifications of the above two approaches are set forth in separate communications to the Bureau.

c. Due to the pressures of other business, CG 5824-S\* was unable to review the list of CP, USA leaders from the New York District which was furnished to Chicago by the New York Office.

1-704 740  
②-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago  
WAB:MDW  
(4)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 134-46 Sub B

2. Activities to be undertaken during  
October, 1967

a. The Chicago Office is continuing to follow the activities and health condition of [redacted]. We will await the observations of the Bureau relative to the possible approaches set forth in separate communication to the Bureau and will take appropriate action leading toward a successful approach to [redacted] as soon thereafter as possible. b7D

b. As the Bureau is aware, CG 5824-S\* departed from Chicago on September 26, 1967, and it is not now anticipated that he will return before the middle of October. At that time we will immediately commence preparations for the next Solo Mission which will be undertaken shortly thereafter. Therefore, it is not anticipated that CG 5824-S\* will have an opportunity to review in the necessary detail the list furnished by the New York Office.

c. The efforts of this office to identify possible targets in this program are continuing through appropriate file reviews. When such are identified, the Bureau and New York will be furnished copies of communications setting forth our observations and recommended programs to be undertaken.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
10/10/67

airtel

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. H. F. Row  
(6221 IB)  
1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

To: SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 10/4/67, with a copy to New York.

Authority granted to advance CG 5824-S\* regular payment, for services, of \$3,000 for period of 10/15/67 to 12/15/67 and \$1,193.50 for expenses, both in connection with Solo Mission 24. *e*

A detailed accounting of informant's expenses is to be made upon informant's return from this mission. Keep the Bureau advised of all pertinent developments relating to informant's preparation for Solo Mission 24.

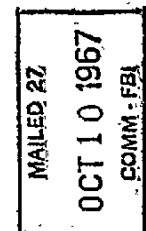
1 - New York (100-134637)

WGS:cst  
(10)

NOTE:

See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated October 9, 1967, same caption, prepared by WGS:cst.

REC 11 100-428091-6530



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

20 OCT 13 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

EX-103  
FBI  
OCT 3 11 43 AM '67

6 OCT 10 1967

*WGS*  
*CB*  
*WGS*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*3- R. [Signature]*

DATE: 10/4/67

Re previous correspondence to the Bureau concerning investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission into alleged manipulation of stocks being traded on the American Stock Exchange.

It will be recalled that the First National Bank of Lincolnwood, Lincolnwood, Illinois, in addition to its involvement in the above investigation, was the object of a suit brought in September, 1966, by the Edward N. Siegler Company, a Cleveland investment house, which alleged it had been driven into bankruptcy by fraudulent stock transactions carried out by the First National Bank of Lincolnwood and individuals connected therewith.

On October 3, 1967, while in telephonic contact with this office from New York City, CG 5824-S\* advised that this suit, which was pending in the Federal District Court in Chicago, had been brought to a conclusion. According to the informant's information, the Federal Court had ruled in favor of the First National Bank of Lincolnwood. He stated that the lawyer representing the bank had received the legal papers informing him of this ruling but that no publicity was being given to this ruling until such time as the lawyers for the investment firms involved had also been advised. *l*

CG 5824-S\* stated that he has learned from IRVING PROJANSKY that his wife, ADA PROJANSKY, is still in the hospital undergoing psychiatric care necessitated by her complete breakdown brought about by the current involvement of IRVING PROJANSKY in the stock scandal. According to IRVING PROJANSKY, his wife is improving but that no prognosis for her release from the hospital has been made.

1-904 940  
②-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

REC 11

100-428091-6531

WAB:MDW  
(4)

EX-103

6 OCT 10 1967



60 OCT 13 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 10/4/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

On 10/3/67 CG 5824-S\* was telephonically in contact with this office from NYC and advised that as a result of discussions with GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, it appears that he will have to depart on the 24th Solo Mission about 10/18 or 19/67 which is somewhat earlier than had been previously planned. This early departure is necessitated by the fact that JAMES JACKSON, Chairman of the International Affairs Commission, CP, USA, and one of those designated as a CP, USA representative at the 11/7/67 celebration in Moscow, has decided to leave earlier in order to attend a symposium in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on 10/25/67, and HALL wants CG 5824-S\* to precede JACKSON into Prague. Therefore, this office is at the present time compiling schedules to map the route to be taken by the informant on the next Solo Mission. Q

In our brief telephonic discussion with CG 5824-S\*, he indicated that although GUS HALL had instructed him to bring CG 6653-S on the next Mission, he had told HALL that he did not believe this was desirable, despite her standing invitation from the CPSU, in view of the fact that some other CP, USA representatives would not be accompanied by their wives who had, in fact, not even been invited. Therefore, as

- ③-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(5)

REC 11 100-428091-6532

EX-103

6 OCT 10 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

57 OCT 13 1967

Memo C.D. Bryman (Cec)  
to W.C. Sullivan  
1-774  
10/10/67  
10/10/67  
10/10/67



CG 134-46 Sub B

of this date, CG 5824-S\* does not contemplate that CG 6653-S will make this Mission. It is recognized, however, that GUS HALL may remain firm in this matter and instruct CG 6653-S to make the trip since, as we have seen in the past, ELIZABETH HALL does not like to make such trips without having CG 6653-S along. Of course, in the event she goes, CG 6653-S and CG 5824-S\* would have to insure that any association between CG 6653-S and ELIZABETH HALL is not a public association which would blow the new cover.

CG 5824-S\* has informed us that he received a phone call from his son who resides in West Los Angeles, Calif., on 10/1/67 informing him that the son intends to marry again sometime between now and Thanksgiving. CG 5824-S\* stated that he does not know his son's intended wife and since he would likely be out of the country at the time of the wedding, he wants very much to see his son and meet this girl before he leaves. He stated that he will attempt to have his son and fiancée come to Chicago before his own departure, but in the event this cannot be arranged, he may have to make an effort to go to Los Angeles to see them. Whatever expense this entails will be his own responsibility.

In view of the informant's tentative plans for travel on the next Solo Mission, the Bureau is requested to authorize the following advance of funds for expenses of this travel which at this time does not include CG 6653-S. The informant will remove \$500 from Solo funds to defray a portion of these expenses. This amount is the largest which, it is felt, the informant can take from Solo funds for this purpose since it is the total amount allotted by the CP, USA for the travel of other CP, USA functionaries, a great portion of whose expenses are borne by the CPSU. In view of the nature of the informant's covert travel, the CPSU is unable to do the same in his case.

First class air fare from Chicago to Prague and return	\$ 956.40
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First class air fare from Prague to Moscow and return	312.10
--	--------

Expenses in Western Europe, en route and return, including meals, tips, baggage, transit taxes, etc.	200.00
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CG 134-46 Sub B

Overseas phone call on return trip to U.S.	\$ 25.00
Excess baggage charges	50.00
New unmarked luggage not previously utilized on Solo Missions	50.00
New clothing without laundry and dry cleaning marks	<u>100.00</u>
Total	\$1,693.50
Less \$500 from Solo Funds	<u>500.00</u>
Total request from the Bureau	\$1,193.50

The Bureau is also requested to authorize the advance of two months' payments for services and expenses to CG 5824-S\* for the period 10/15-12/15/67, a total of \$3,000, inasmuch as although CG 5824-S\* will probably be out of the country during that period, the normal expenses for him and his wife will continue.

In view of the imminence of the 24th Solo Mission, the Bureau is requested to reply to the requests herein by close of business 10/13/67.

F B I

Date: 10/5/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*id* Pursuant to Bureau authorization obtained on 10/3/67, twenty five thousand dollars was given to CG 5824-S\* on 10/4/67. The source on the same date turned this money over to HELEN WINTER (CPUSA functionary). This money is to be used to pay for current expenses of "The Worker" and expenses for the CPUSA Leadership school being held at the present time. *Q*

- 1-904 910*
- 3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (66-6989) (INV) (41)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637-SUB A) (41)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

JFL:gmd  
(7)

REC 11 EX-103

100-428091-6533

OCT 10 1967

Approved: *131* *JFL*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

10/4/67

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33742)

CP, USA - FUNDS

IS-C

(OO:NY)

ReCGairtel to Bureau dated 7/5/67 regarding negotiations by Prompt Press to secure printing press from Michle-Goss-Dexter, Inc., Chicago, Ill.

On 9/29/67 [redacted] (protect - requested), Goss Co., Division of Michle-Goss-Dexter, Inc., 3100 S. Central Ave., Cicero, Ill., advised SA LELAND G. RICHIE that his company had received a check dated 9/25/67, drawn on the Bank of North America, 116 Fifth Ave., NYC, in the amount of \$12,800, payable to Goss Company, and signed by JOSEPH FELSHIN and KARL LEICHTMAN. This check was received by the Goss Company on 9/23/67. [redacted] advised that the press contracted for by Prompt Press will be shipped to Prompt Press Printers, Inc., 418 W. 25th St., NYC, in about 10 days and the remaining balance of the total purchase price of the press will fall due 30 days after the installation of the press.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN

- 4-Bureau (RM)  
(1 - 100-428001) (SOLO)  
5-New York (RM)  
(1 - 100-74500) (CP, USA - Funds)  
(1 - 100-134637) (SOLO)  
(1 - 100- ) (Prompt Press)  
(1 - 100- ) (JOSEPH FELSHIN)  
(1 - 100- ) (KARL LEICHTMAN)  
2-Chicago  
(1 - 134-46 Sub D) (SOLO)  
WAB:MDW  
(11)

100-428091

NOT RECORDED

140 OCT 10 1967

52  
57 OCT 15 1967

CG 100-33742

The Chicago Office will continue to follow this matter with the Goss Co., and the Bureau will be promptly advised of any further developments such as the exercise of the option by Prompt Press Printers, Inc., for the purchase of an additional unit to be used in conjunction with the press just purchased.

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 10/5/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C5-R. Patterson  
S. H. [unclear]  
R. [unclear]

Re previous correspondence relating to Securities and Exchange Commission investigation into alleged manipulation of stocks being traded on the American Stock Exchange.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York is one Xerox copy each of two newspaper clippings from the 10/5/67 "Chicago Sun-Times"; one Xerox copy each of two articles appearing in the "Wall Street Journal," 10/5/67; one Xerox copy each of two articles appearing in the "New York Times," 10/5/67; and one Xerox copy each of an article appearing in the "Chicago Tribune," 10/5/67, which relate to the above subject matter. The enclosed are furnished for the information of the Bureau and New York.

1-904 940

③-Bureau (Enc. 6)(RM)  
1-New York (100-134637)(Enc. 6)(Info)(RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB/RAV:MDW  
(5)

ENCLOSURE 127  
"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

EX-103

REC 11

100-428091-6534

6 OCT 10 1967

Approved: WAB/RAV  
66 OCT 11 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSURES (6) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO  
6 newspaper clippings re stock matter

RE: SOLO  
IS-C

Bufile 100-428091  
CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGairtel to Bureau 10/5/67



100-428091-6534

ENCLOSURE

## A FRAUD SUSPECT IS SHOT TO DEATH

Osborn Andreas, 63, Called  
an Apparent Suicide

CHICAGO, Oct. 4 (AP)—Osborn Andreas, 63 years old, who the regional office of the Securities and Exchange Commission said was under indictment in New York, was found shot to death today in his South Side home.

The police said Mr. Andreas had been shot twice in the head. A .32-caliber pistol was found near the body, and a detective said the wounds appeared self-inflicted.

A spokesman for the S.E.C. said Mr. Andreas was one of six men charged June 1 by a Federal grand jury in New York with violations of the Government agency's regulations.

### Nature of Indictment

Mr. Andreas was indicted on charges of conspiracy, manipulation and fraud in connection with transactions in the stock of the Pentron Electronics Corporation, listed on the American Stock Exchange.

He pleaded not guilty and was released in his own recognizance.

Of the five other men indicted with him, two pleaded guilty to two counts of the 21-count indictment. The alleged plot involved the sale of Mr. Andreas's shares in Pentron. He had been chairman and treasurer of the manufacturer of tap recorders, motor coils and electronic equipment.

The indictment was handed down by the grand jury after a year-long investigation into the trading of at least seven issues listed on the American exchange.

The grand jury reportedly has been delving into possible underworld links with the securities business, although Federal investigators have repeatedly declined to confirm the reports.

### Other Defendants

The other defendants are Spero Furla, 42; Robert Ness, 38, and Mark Rolland, 33, all of Chicago, and Paul Heischuber, 27, and Mario Trombone, 38, both of New York.

Rolland and Furla are the two who pleaded guilty to two counts of the indictment. According to United States Attorney Robert M. Morgenthau these two, along with Mr. Ness and an alleged co-conspirator, Burton Kozak of Chicago, who was not indicted in the case, agreed to sell for Mr. Andreas 144,000 shares of Pentron stock at \$3 a share.

In return, Mr. Morgenthau said, Mr. Andreas arranged for the four men to obtain about 175,000 shares of Pentron stock at \$2 a share, which at the time was below the market price. The 175,000 shares had been in a trust for the benefit of Mr. Andreas's children.

The United States Attorney charged that the four other men "engaged in a campaign artificially to raise the price of Pentron stock," using bribes offered to stockbrokers working for member firms of the New York and American stock exchanges.

Assistant United States Attorney Lawrence W. Newman charged that Mr. Trombone and Mr. Heischuber "received compensation" in return for inducing other stockbrokers, customers and other persons to purchase Pentron stock.

Mr. Trombone is the principal officer of Mario Trombone Associates, a New York public relations firm, and Mr. Heischuber is a former stockbroker who was a partner in Tobey & Kirk, a member firm of the New York Stock Exchange.

The grand jury is known to be continuing its investigation into trading in American Exchange securities, although the focus of the investigation is believed to have shifted from Chicago to New York.

## EX-BROKER GUILTY ON FRAUD CHARGE

Plea Entered on One Count  
in Hercules Galion Case

By TERRY ROBARDS

Harris Nagorsky, a former stockbroker, pleaded guilty in Federal court here yesterday to conspiracy to manipulate and commit fraud in connection with trading of the common stock of Hercules Galion Products, Inc., on the American Stock Exchange.

Nagorsky, 28 years old, entered his guilty plea to the first count of a 14-count indictment handed down Aug. 23 by a Federal grand jury in New York. The indictment charged Nagorsky and 15 other men with plotting to manipulate Hercules Galion on the American exchange during a period between July 1965 and March 1966.

Four other defendants in the case pleaded not guilty yesterday. They are Michael Geier, 28, of Merrick, L. I.; Gerald Leavitt, 36 of Glencoe, Ill.; Edward Wetzel, 58, of Bronxville, N. Y., and Zafe Zafer, 33, of Chicago.

Nagorsky, described as a former stockholder for Rodman & Renshaw in Chicago, pleaded not guilty to two other counts of the indictment. According

Continued on Page 65, Column 4

Continued From Page 55

to the United States Attorney's office, he was paid more than \$10,000 to buy shares of Hercules Galion for his customers.

### 10 Deny Charges

Of the 16 defendants in the case, 10 have pleaded not guilty, one has pleaded guilty to all counts in which he was named and five have pleaded guilty to some of the counts naming them. Nine of the defendants are former stockbrokers.

The indictment arose out of a year-long grand jury investigation into the trading of at least seven issues listed on the American Stock Exchange. Last July, the grand jury returned indictments against six men in connection with an alleged manipulation of the stock of the Pentron Electronics Corporation.

Hercules Galion, based in Galion, Ohio, is a manufacturer of truck bodies and hydraulic hoists. The plot to manipulate its stock is believed not to have included any officers of the company. The grand jury is continuing its investigation.



CHICAGO TRIBUNE, THURSDAY,

## Price-Fixing Figure Found Shot to Death

Osborn Andreas, 63, under federal indictment in New York City with five others allegedly rigging the price of Pentron Electronics corporation stock, was found shot to death yesterday in the living room of his home at 6740 S. Euclid av. Police said the death was a suicide.

Police said he shot himself twice in the head. They said he apparently fired a shot into his forehead, which failed to kill him, and then shot himself in the right temple. A .32 caliber revolver, with two discharged shells in the chamber, was clutched in his right hand.

The body was found by his widow, Margot, in the living room at 10 a. m. Police said he apparently had been dead several hours.

The alleged rigging of the price of Pentron stock, listed on the American Stock exchange, took place in early 1966

after he had severed his connections with Pentron. He quit as a director of Pentron in December, 1965; as treasurer in June, 1965; as chairman in November, 1964; and as president in October, 1963, according to Harold Ballonoff, now president and treasurer.

When the indictment was returned June 1, Robert M. Morgenthau, United States attorney in New York, charged that investors were defrauded of 1.5 to 2 million dollars in the scheme by maneuvering to lift the stock price artificially. Involved were 320,000 shares out of 2,680,000 shares of the company stock outstanding.

Associates of Andreas said he had been despondent over his financial affairs. They said he had a coffee vending business in suburban Dolton, was president of Monroe Acceptance corporation, and was treasurer of a farm implement business in Neodesh, Kas.

100-428091-6534

# Osborn Andreas, 63, Found Shot To Death; Indicted In Stock Case

Osborn Andreas, Chicago literary figure, industrialist and



OSBORN  
ANDREAS

financier under indictment for conspiracy to manipulate stock, was found shot to death Wednesday in his S. Side home. Andreas, 63, of 6740 S. Euclid, was discovered by his wife, Margot, 47, lying on a living room sofa. Police said he had two bullet wounds in his head and was clutching a .32-caliber revolver in his hand.

Mrs. Andreas told police she found the body after being awakened by the doorbell and did not hear the shots.

A note near the body directed Andreas' attorney to

place certain holdings in a trust fund for two sons.

## 1 Of 6 Indicted

Andreas was one of six men indicted June 1 by a federal grand jury in New York for a stock-manipulation conspiracy that allegedly cost investors \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000 last year.

Two other Chicago men pleaded guilty in July to involvement in the alleged conspiracy. They are Spero Furla, 42, a former securities salesman, and Mark Rolland, 33, engaged in the loan business.

The indictment charged that the six defendants agreed to boost the price of Pentron Electronics Corp. by stimulating an artificial trading that raised Pentron stock from less than \$2 a share to \$3.75.

## Pleaded Innocent

Andreas pleaded innocent to the indictment, and Atty. Samuel D. Freifeld, a business associate, said Wednesday that Andreas played an unwitting role in the reputed conspiracy.

Andreas and four brothers had developed a family feed grain business into the leading feed manufacturing company in Iowa.

But Andreas pursued cultural as well as business interests, writing books on Joseph Conrad (1959) and Henry James (1948). He once told a reporter that he made it a practice to play Bach on the piano and read one act of Shakespeare each day.

## Befriended Novelist

A patron of the arts, Andreas befriended novelist James Purdy and subsequently claimed to be the prototype of a principal character in Purdy's book, "Malcolm."

Edward Albee's play of the same name, adapted from the book, closed after only seven performances in New York City.

Andreas, once principal owner of Pentron, was treasurer of the R.A.F. Corp., manufacturer of farm equipment, at the time of his death.

## Chicagoan Admits Stock Plot

NEW YORK (AP)—A Chicago stock salesman admitted Wednesday in federal court that he conspired to inflate the price of stock in Hercules Galion Products, Inc., Galion, Ohio.

Harris Nagorsky, 28, described as a securities salesman with the Chicago brokerage firm of Redman and Ren-

shaw, pleaded guilty to the conspiracy count of a federal indictment filed Aug. 23 against 16 securities salesmen and others, including the board chairman and the president of a bank.

Nagorsky, the sixth defendant to admit part of the indictment, denied two specific substantive counts.

Four other defendants pleaded innocent Wednesday. Federal Judge Harold R. Tyler scheduled legal motions for Dec. 21. All those accused have been released in their own custody.

Since Aug. 23, 10 defendants pleaded innocent; one pleaded guilty, and five entered split pleas.

Nagorsky, the U.S. attorney's

office said, received more than \$10,000 in secret compensation for buying 30,300 shares of Hercules Galion for his customers.

Other Chicago area defendants pleading innocent were Gerald Leavitt, 36, of Glencoe, Ill., and Zafe Zafer, 33, of Chicago, a former salesman for Hornblower and Weeks in Chicago.

"CHICAGO SUN-TIMES," 10/5/67

## New Guilty Plea Filed In U.S. Case Involving Hercules Galion Shares

**Nagorsky Admits He Conspired  
To Manipulate Stock but Denies  
He Took Part in Actual Rigging**

*By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter*  
NEW YORK—Another defendant pleaded guilty to Federal conspiracy charges involving alleged illegal manipulation of the stock of Hercules Galion Products Inc. on the American Stock Exchange.

Harris Nagorsky became the sixth defendant in the case to enter guilty pleas to some of the charges. He pleaded innocent to charges that he engaged in the manipulation itself.

Four defendants in the case yesterday pleaded innocent to the charges. The Hercules Galion conspiracy, manipulation and fraud charges were handed up by a Federal grand jury Aug. 23. A total of 16 bankers, businessmen and brokers was indicted.

### Former Broker

Mr. Nagorsky is a former Chicago stock broker who worked for Rodman & Renshaw in Chicago at the time of the alleged rigging.

The four defendants pleading innocent yesterday included Gerald Leavitt, a Chicago businessman who is a relative of Mark Rolland, a Chicago money-lender who pleaded guilty to rigging charges involving both Hercules Galion and Pentron Electronics Corp.; Michael Geier, a former customers' man for Hertz, Neumark & Warner, a Big Board firm in New York City; Edward Wetzel, formerly of Hertz-Neumark, and Zate Zafer, formerly a Chicago salesman for Hornblower & Weeks.

Early last month, guilty pleas in the case were entered by Spero Furla, a Chicago photographer and former stock broker; David Zisfein, formerly a customers' man at Reynolds & Co.; Burton "Buddy" Kozak, formerly a customers' man for Link, Gorman & Peck and Edward N. Siegler & Co., the defunct Cleveland brokerage house, and Arthur Kellef, former president of the First National Bank of Lincolnwood in Lincolnwood, Ill.

Those who have pleaded innocent to all the charges include Irving Projansky, a former director of Hercules Galion who is also the chairman of First National Bank of Lincolnwood; his son Stuart, who is an assistant vice president at the Lincolnwood Bank; Harry Brainin, another Hercules director who is also president of Argus Capital Corp. of Chicago and president of Chatham Corp., also in Chicago, and Dr. Fred Wietz, a dental surgeon in Chicago who is also a director of the bank.

The alleged scheme is said to have involved the purchase of 250,000 Hercules shares by the defendants, who traded this stock in a "pool" and then dumped it. Hercules had 983,517 shares outstanding at the time.

### Bribe Offers Charged

According to the indictment, the plot started at the Lincolnwood bank and spread to a point where scores of customers' men were offered bribes, including grants of Hercules stock, stock options below the prevailing market price and cash.

Loans from the Lincolnwood bank were made to the defendant salesmen and to Investment Associates Inc., a Chicago finance company in which Mr. Rolland was a partner, according to the indictment.

The indictment alleges that the plotters induced their brokerage customers to purchase huge amounts of Hercules stock at the opening and close of the market to create trading activity.

It's assumed by court observers that defendants pleading guilty are cooperating with the Government in the case. This is the second indictment obtained by Federal prosecutors in New York in an investigation of alleged price manipulation of shares of at least seven stocks trading on the American exchange.

The earlier indictment, obtained June 1, charged stockrigging in shares of Pentron Electronics Corp.

100 - 428091 - 6534

## Pentron Ex-Chairman Found Shot to Death; Police Call It Suicide

Andreas Was Under Indictment in  
Stock Case; Chicago Detectives  
Say He Left Notes, 'Contract'

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter  
CHICAGO—Osborn Andreas, former chairman and treasurer of Pentron Electronic Corp., shot himself to death here, according to Chicago police. Mr. Andreas was under indictment for rigging the market in Pentron stock but had pleaded innocent of the Federal charge.

The police said Mr. Andreas committed suicide Tuesday night in the living room of his home here. His body was discovered yesterday by his wife, Margot.

Police said he left a "contract" and some suicide notes, but they declined to disclose the contents pending a coroner's investigation.

Homicide detectives discounted the possibility of foul play and said it was clear Mr. Andreas had killed himself. "There were powder burns on his hand. It's all wrapped up," said one detective.

The Pentron indictment handed up on June 1 alleged that Mr. Andreas and five other defendants rigged the market in Pentron in order to give Mr. Andreas, one of the largest holders of the stock a chance to sell at an attractive price a 320,000-share block in early 1966. The market in Pentron was rigged by the defendants, it's charged, by payments of "secret compensation" or bribes to salesmen of New York Stock Exchange or American Stock Exchange member firms.

Mr. Andreas left the Pentron board in December 1965 over a "management dispute" with Harold Ballonoff, the company's president since August 1965.

The soft-spoken, gray-haired Mr. Andreas, who came from one of the leading families in the Midwest, preferred to be known as an arts patron despite his extensive business background. When the 63-year-old executive appeared in court last June 20 to answer the Pentron charges, his lawyers said he'd never before been involved in a court proceeding.

The indictments of six defendants in the Pentron case and 16 defendants in a rigging case involving Hercules Gallion Products Inc. stock grew out of a nationwide investigation that began in late May 1966. A substantial number of unpaid for orders in Pentron, Hercules Gallion and five other American exchange-traded stocks caused Edward N. Siegler & Co., a Cleveland brokerage house, to become insolvent. Investigators discovered that most of the unpaid for orders originated at the Chicago office of Siegler.

Later, the U.S. Attorney and American exchange investigators discovered that the unpaid for orders were part of a rigging scheme that was alleged to have been planned by a "pool" of some Chicago investors. Some investigators suspect that criminal syndicate figures may have played a role in the scheme.

Mr. Andreas was the brother of Dwayne O. Andreas, a prominent Minneapolis businessman who is a close personal friend and political associate of Vice President Humphrey.

Mr. Andreas was the senior partner of Serena Industries in Dolton, Ill., and also the chairman of R.A.F. Corp. in Chicago. The other principals in R.A.F. included Mark Rolland, the Chicago money lender, who pleaded guilty in both the Pentron and Hercules Gallion cases, and Spero Furja who also entered guilty pleas in both cases.

Serena Industries, which at the end of 1966 had assets of \$113,630, makes food-dispensing machines and wholesales food products. R.A.F., which makes feed-mill equipment, listed \$838,717 in assets at the end of 1966.

Mr. Andreas' apparent suicide marks the second violent death surrounding the extensive rigging probe. Last March Allan Rosenberg, a Chicago gangster and convicted confidence man, was shot to death in Chicago before he was scheduled to testify about his dealings in some of the seven stocks that were under investigation.

100-428091-65-34


ROUTE  ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637-Sub A)

SUBJECT:  SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 10/5/67

Remylet, 9/5/67.

The records of the New York Office indicate the following transactions regarding SOLO funds from 9/1/67 through 9/30/67.

9/1/67 On hand as of 8/31/67 \$719,282.98

## Credits

None during September, 1967.

## Debits

9/5/67 To CG 5824-S\* for GUS HALL \$60,000.00  
This money to be used for CP  
Leadership School, CPUSA  
Operating Expenses and CP Travel Expenses  
~~Expenses~~ Total \$60,000.00

## Balance

Sum of Amount on Hand	\$719,282.98
Less Debit	60,000.00
Total on Hand as of 9/30/67	\$659,282.98

- 1-904 94D
- 2-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
  - 1-Chicago (134-46-Sub F) (AM RM)
  - 1-NY (134-91) (Inv) (41)
  - 1-NY (100-128861-Sub B) (CPUSA Reserve Fund) (41)
  - 1-NY (100-134637-Sub A) (41)

UFL:rmv  
(6)

REC 11 EX-103

100-428091-6535

6 OCT 10 1967



57 OCT 12 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637-Sub A

Location of SOLO Funds -  
New York Office Territory

Safe deposit box Chemical  
Bank, New York Trust Company,  
67 Broad Street, New York,  
New York

\$10,000.00

JACK BROOKS Regular Checking  
Accounts, Chemical Bank-  
New York Turst Company,  
20 Pine Street, NY, NY

Account No. 1 (001-228919)  
" No. 2 (001-232835)  
" No. 3 (001-237942)

13,259.28  
32,345.92  
48,677.78

NY 694-S\* Personal Checking  
Account, Chemical Bank-  
New York Trust Company, 67  
Broad Street, NY, NY

4,000.00

Maintained by NYC - FBI

Safe Deposit Boxes,  
Manufacturers Hanover  
Trust Company, 69th Street  
and Third Avenue, NY, NY

\$551,000.00

Total as of 9/30/67

---

\$659,282.98

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub E)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 10/5/67

ReCGlet dated September 5, 1967.

Set forth below is an accounting of Solo Funds and Reserve Funds transactions during September, 1967:

Balance of funds on hand,  
September 1, 1967

Solo Funds

\$125,766.55

Reserve Funds

3,088.26

Total \$128,854.81

Additions

None

Disbursements

Solo Funds

Reserve Funds

On 9/7/67 to CG 5824-S\* for reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses of GUS and ELIZABETH HALL and [redacted] while CG 5824-S\* and CG 6653-S were in New York City during the period 8/28-9/6/67

None

OCT 10 1967

\$1,289.00

1-964 940  
②-Bureau (RM)  
2-New York (RM)  
1-100-134637 (SOLO)  
1-100-128861 (CP, USA - Reserve Funds)  
1-Chicago Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

WAB:MDW  
(5)

295



CG 134-46 Sub F

On 9/25/67 to CG 5824-S\* for reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenditure on 9/24/67 to wire \$150 to Boston, Massachusetts, at the urgent telegraphic request of MAX WEINSTEIN, including \$5.65 in telegraph charges

\$ 155.65

Total expenditures

\$1,444.65

Balance on hand as of  
October 1, 1967

Solo Funds

\$125,766.55

Reserve Funds

1,643.61

Total funds on hand

\$127,410.16

Location of funds - Chicago Office territory

Solo Funds

Maintained by Chicago Office in safety deposit box #C1362, LaSalle National Bank, Chicago, Illinois, with access limited to SAC and ASAC

\$110,766.55

Maintained by CG 5824-S\* in safe in his office at Arisco Associates, Inc., Suite 918, 25 East Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois

5,000.00

Maintained in Arisco Associates, Inc., checking account at Michigan Avenue National Bank, Chicago, Illinois, with access by [redacted] and CG 5824-S\*

5,000.00

Maintained in Arisco Associates, Inc., checking account at First National Bank of Lincolnwood, Lincolnwood, Illinois, with access by CS [redacted] and CG 5824-S\*

5,000.00

CG 134-46 Sub F

Reserve Funds

Maintained in safety deposit box  
#1349 at Mid-America National  
Bank, Chicago, Illinois, in the  
name of HAROLD M. JULES (CG 5824-S\*)  
and JACK BROOKS (NY 694-S\*) with  
power of attorney to enter box in  
name of GENKA JULES (CG 6653-S)

\$ 1,643.61

Total funds on hand

\$127,410.16

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Conrad

DATE: October 9, 1967

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/9/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

## ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:ccb

(7)

EX 109

REC-62

100-428091-6537

6 OCT 11 1967

6 OCT 13 1967

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Conrad *[Signature]*

DATE: October 9, 1967

FROM : C. F. Downing *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: *[Handwritten: 0]*  
SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

On 10/9/67, the New York Office furnished the text of three messages which the informant desired to send and requested that they be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished to New York on the same day.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

*[Handwritten: e]*  
**ENCLOSURE**

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

*[Handwritten: HS]*  
HS:trst  
(7)

EX 106

100-428091-6538

REC-28

6 OCT 12 1967

62 OCT 16 1967

10/9/67

10828 12389 59591 36284 67402 79186 87994 89852 63722 17060

97742 77330 48476 56372 09025 85542 65610 95352 87056 81831

74553 14654 15086 58210 76566 27845 48141 61635 57009 00562

86396 28527 13945 67139 28076 11787 67418 19670

ABLE-KIT CONFIDENTIAL PLEASE HAVE AVAILABLE IN OFFICE, BE  
TWEEN OCTOBER #16 #TH AND #23 #RD, LUG FOR REX HUB IN NAME OF SY  
DNEYS, LESSER, OAK.

100-428091-6538

ENCLOSURE

20662 43320 45274 98959 07626 65461 92939 41558 22402 94448

89359 80925 99168 22394 22355 801/3 79/47 35527 24976 02824

84411 23117 59301 41594 45845 36147 14959 43578 52266 25286

28844 21737 56251 08168 04977 03686 56819 90674 04529 18720

71361 69465 98751 80837 20639 32067 29455 82635 88059 96024

98064 64228 14920 84414 10672 23753 93581 23510 79435 73420

41952 98268 71340 94107 08769 84233 18863 89207 30129 36248

47842 29531 32696 11660 80191 72305 84352 87061 09818 06747

61225 45149 08416 76835 21844 76191 90725 50853 72679 36263

88961 51512 97753 56815 16810 00983 99897 75593 13289 59312

92385 94989 43402 29182 61527 12716 74718 01615 96069 89929

94388 65608 32091 99928 95012 06795 36053 99111 46231 68176

59675 08870 01493 06656 21003 18922 75677 95261 18780 77026

63451 71184 11140 31452 48496 61226 38919 84781 16652 77573

49100 25589 37161 99250 64176 33545 86791 41213 01149 82128

24563 23477 69597 76399 30468 02723 89220 68974 93652 41980

83689

ABLE KIT CONFIDENTIAL WHEN SON OF PONY WAS IN HAZEL FEW WEEK  
SAGO, REX OAK AGREED TO BE LEADING PARTICIPANT REPRESENT IN  
GCOX AT NOVEMBER SEMINAR OF INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL WOR  
KERS MOVEMENT. YOU WILL RECALL THAT AT AN EARLIER DATE WE HA  
D DESIGNATED REX MAPLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS SEMINAR IN BEH  
ALF OF OUR LANE. THAT WAS BEFORE THE DATE WAS POSTPONED. REX I  
VY SUGGESTS THAT THOUGH HE WILL CARRY THROUGH AS PROMISED, R  
EX MAPLE SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THIS SEMINAR FOR REASONS TH  
AT YOU WILL UNDERSTAND, INVOLVING DELICATE RELATIONSHIPS  
IN OUR LEADERSHIP, IT WOULD BE INADVISABLE TO EXCLUDE HIM FR  
OM PARTICIPATION IN THIS SEMINAR. HUB...

35948 38908 51929 03431 91468 25302 82016 92730 19267 62270

24390 18972 06054 65901 85529 47789 95516 16580 04900 99523

01767 29843 81522 90140 00836 24894 41219 57203 00854 29342

13730 05355 56028 03853 84655 12386 58053 65360 90371 13810

24890 19706 84567 24992 14202 42685 61977 12341 81411 65757

45005 94119 31949 07870 43546 50982 79043 87281 60028 92228

11899 38342 20501 21263 52306 25500 62614 67434 61022 67590

87103 90004 64779 94759 21448 57499 01955 73168 71615 44077

91061 92857 15927 96565 45025 14614 27035 10094 80229 27613

64247 75907 44913 32306 86907 93329 70192 97136 11379 45161

80509 27866 94545 49194 47873 42478 44069 92880 32216 22354

41658 56869 26455 29783 67363 16668 11372 83641 02795 42465

81520 06128 30053 11164 10054 10409 41784 77299 90806 40570

51797 39555 82682 03162 66057 45553 65216 09303 95805 85790

51152 03935 14599 11052 06125 40110 91350 82068 34682 13562

93238 97519 80051 95772 82070 34667 20708 89790 55118 51062

91702 29961 87867 55363 71704 65688 34789 07884 50696 67846

11586 75158 07344 56511 06539 36434 51333 88446 16539 42483

82013 52917 16456 90619 03064 00296 70985 25124 50634 26620

13218 36073 43245 67734 99906 53507 64363 91591 93777 27029

96398 52582 20027 11008 84940 47495 99703 62901 18096 70531

11792 22370 63646 50920 83258 01328 24936 02244 62475 95624

16037 44348 41380 86123 22925 04950 67342 80834 35488 54712

12733 34172 52155 72480 51900 49132 77632 94194 33381 41523



67010 43047 65964 07847 25217 64207 81903 03660 36044 69474

20045 21916 30119 11182 07159 75609 59443 34755 30886 09163

37551 65264 09844 64715 43579 37352 05669 50338 93998 76558

21731 88830 19984 50520 21108 26668 13132 24568 99518 66114

72590 96109 52802 10132 57991 55230 99442 46191 23500 18270

58112 35643 23157 45461 23764 92264 42270 30379 80269 87565

74277 42659 56639 30298 09773 31689 60725 26238 05536 70567

28312 18806 83664 48643 67524 88426 98859 62632 44007 81778

69555 42319 27248 75906 84883 53843 80052 27536 40488 00113

70861 89327 88993 28577 10607 73486 04355 00987 17589 74419

37434 39265 98010 49111 99202 75766 05209 05119 90100 31109

89932 26791 68725 92967 76399 57634 82241 43564 96099 33765

10611 18888 55925 79754 70712 02847 53940 47427 52349 78797

93565 80425 79279 21606 88776 03041 35820 34340 96382 44621

72940 94457 28193 66096 58833 80669 07483 95554 10434 35360

19017 52221 21887 42358 74265 28158 81372 73892 58914 63985

80568 71401 48465

ABLE KIT CONFIDENTIAL DEAR REXES. THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOR OF SVETLANA ALLILWYEVA WAS OBTAINED FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE CLOSE TO THE EDITORIAL GROUP WITH WHOM SHE HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED. THIS SOURCE NECESSARILY MUST REMAIN ANONYMOUS FOR THE TIME BEING. A LOT OF ANTAGONISM IS BUILDING UP AMONGST THOSE WHO ARE HER SPONSORS AND THOSE WHO WORK WITH HER, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE PEOPLE IN THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE. HER PERSONAL BEHAVIOR IS REPORTED AS OBNOXIOUS. FOR EXAMPLE, SVETLANA ALLILWYEVA HAD BEEN INVITED TO BE THE HOUSE GUEST OF HER TRANSLATOR FOR A WEEK. THREE MONTHS LATER, SHE CONTINUED AS A HOUSE GUEST OF THIS WOMAN MUCH TO THE LATTER'S ANNOYANCE. HER PERSONAL BEHAVIOR IS DESCRIBED AS ARROGANT, DOMINEERING, INCONSIDERATE, AND CONTEMPTUOUS OF HER HOSTESS AS WELL AS THE EDITORIAL ASSOCIATES AROUND HER. ONE OF THE BRILLIANT LITERARY PERSONAGES AROUND HER WHO HAD TO DEAL WITH SVETLANA ALLILWYEVA DESCRIBED HER AS A "PHONY WHO IS BORDERING ON A MENTAL BREAKDOWN". SHE IS SHAUGHTY AND SCORNFUL TOWARD ANYONE WHO IS NOT RICH. SHE HAS A DISDAINFUL ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EXECUTIVES AND EDITORS OF HER PUBLISHERS. OUR SOURCE IS OF THE OPINION THAT THOSE AWARE OF HER OUTRAGEOUS BEHAVIOR WOULD NOT BE OPPOSED TO SUCH FACTS BEING MADE PUBLIC. THERE HAS BEEN A RUMOR THAT A POPULAR MAGAZINE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN PUBLISHING SUCH INFORMATION. OUR SOURCE IS TRYING TO OBTAIN FU

OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISGUSTING AR  
ISTOCRATIC BEHAVIOR OF SVETLANA ALLILWYEVA WHICH IS REPUG  
NANT TO ALL AROUND HER HUB...

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *UB*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: October 9, 1967

1 - Mr. M. F. Row  
(6221 IB)  
1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Our Solo informant, CG 5824-S\*, is scheduled to depart for the Soviet Union on or about 10/18/67 on Solo Mission 24. Chicago has requested authority to advance CG 5824-S\* the sum of \$1,193.50 for expenses in connection with his forthcoming Solo Mission and two months regular payment for services amounting to \$3,000. These requests are similar to those which have been made in prior Solo Missions and appear to be necessary in view of the importance of the intelligence data the informant should obtain on this Mission.

CG 5824-S\* has been selected by the Communist Party, USA, as a delegate to the 11/7/67 celebration in Moscow for the 50th Anniversary of the "Great October Revolution." Informant will accompany Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, and undoubtedly will attend high-level conferences with top Soviet leaders. In light of the current international situation, it is felt that this Mission will be unusually significant in providing data of outstanding intelligence value.

Total expenses for Solo Mission 24 estimated by Chicago are \$1,693.50. The Communist Party, USA, will pay \$500 for the travel of the informant. Chicago also requested authority to advance regular payments for services to informant in the amount of \$3,000 for the period of 10/15/67 to 12/15/67. This advance for expenses and services is in line with amounts approved for previous Solo Missions. A detailed accounting of informant's expenses will be made upon his return.

### RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached airtel be sent to Chicago, copy to New York, authorizing advance of funds requested for CG 5824-S\*.

Enclosure - Sent 10-10-67  
100-428091

62 OCT 16 1967 (7)

REC'D - 10/20/67 OFFICE

*5-C Brennan*  
*Putnam*

*2*

EX 106

OCT 12 1967

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CD*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: October 9, 1967

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

My memorandum of 9/8/67 set forth, in detail, an accounting of funds received by the Communist Party, USA, from the Soviet Union and Red China for August, 1967. The following is an accounting of these funds for September, 1967.

### TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED AND DISBURSED 9/58 TO 8/31/67

Total received from Soviet Union.....	\$4,717,745.19
Total received from Red China (all on 2/10/60).....	50,000.00
Total received 9/58 to 8/31/67.....	<u>4,767,745.19</u>
Total disbursed 9/58 to 8/31/67.....	<u>3,922,695.66</u>
Balance of Fund 8/31/67.....	\$ 845,049.53

There were no receipts during September, 1967.

### DISBURSEMENTS DURING SEPTEMBER, 1967

All disbursements made on specific instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA.

9/5/67 To Gus Hall for expenses of Party leadership school, Party operating expenses and travel expenses of Party members.....\$ 60,000.00

BALANCE OF FUND 9/30/67.....\$ 785,049.53

In New York.....\$ 659,282.98

In Chicago.....125,766.55

\$ 785,049.53

100-428091

RCP:cst  
(5)

REC 67 100-428091-6540

EX 106

CONTINUED - OVER

OCT 12 1967

62 OCT 16 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your information. An up-to-date accounting of Party funds received from the Soviets will be brought to your attention each month. Details of the accounting of these funds are not to be disseminated.

*JH*  
*Went*  
*gmk*

*W.C.S.*  
*V. P. ...*

*AP*

*S*

NOTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York

10/18/67

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReBulet to New York, no copy to Chicago,  
9/26/67, which instructed New York to institute a program  
with the dual purpose of locating replacements for our  
Solo informants and eliminating uncontrollable competition.

The conference held at the Seat of Government  
on the Solo Operation approved a recommendation that  
action be promptly initiated to develop additional  
informants to be used in the Solo apparatus in New York  
City. It was also agreed that action would be taken to  
insure that individuals under our control would take over  
some of the miscellaneous duties necessary to keep the  
Solo apparatus functioning. Since NY 694-S\*'s recent  
accident has decreased his mobility and he has stated  
that this presents an opportunity for Gus Hall to  
expedite activation for a replacement for him, we must  
insure that our man is selected, not as a replacement  
but as an integral part of the apparatus qualified to  
substitute for NY 694-S\* during his period of convales-  
cence.

Obviously, the new man cannot be considered  
as a replacement for NY 694-S\* until he has served an  
apprenticeship under the expert guidance of NY 694-S\*.  
This matter again underscores the urgent need to fill  
out the Solo apparatus with live bodies. Therefore,  
within 10 days of the receipt of this letter, New York  
should set forth its observations and recommendations to  
accomplish this goal. Since the Solo apparatus is the  
most important facet of the Solo Operation, this matter  
must be given preferred attention and should be considered  
apart from the problem of locating replacements for  
NY 694-S\* and CG 5824-S\* as set out in relet. All

2 - Chicago

RCP:est  
(6)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

REC-65

MAILED 19

OCT 17 1967

COMM-FBI

OCT 18 1967

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

59007791367 TELETYPE UNIT

Letter to SAC, New York  
RE: SOLO  
100-423091

practical approaches to this problem should be considered, including the possibility of utilizing individuals with little or no Communist Party, USA, affiliation but with false documentation based upon extended participation in the apparatus. This may be possible for NY C94-S\* has advised in the past that the Soviets believe he has a functioning apparatus and he has not been questioned regarding the identification of its members.

Chicago should also submit its observations and recommendations regarding inserting additional individuals into the Solo apparatus within 10 days of the receipt of this letter. While it is recognized that the most logical place to find additions for the Solo apparatus will be in the New York area, the problem is so essential to the continued success of the Solo Operation, no possible avenue can be overlooked. In addition, Chicago should consider the potential need for a legman for CG 5324-S\* and comment upon it. Chicago should consider developing individuals with potential to be utilized as a legman for CG 5324-S\* in the event it is deemed desirable.

NOTE:

The Solo apparatus is the contact between the Communist Party, USA, and the Soviets. Since our informants control the apparatus, they are in a position to be knowledgeable of high-level decisions made by the Communist Party, USA, and the instructions given to the Communist Party, USA, by the Party. Since the informants are not in good health, we must explore every avenue to insure that the apparatus could continue to function should our informants become incapacitated.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : *msj/gh* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: *(C)*  
SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 10/9/67

ReCGairtel to Bureau dated September 11, 1967  
enclosing a letterhead memorandum entitled, "BEATRICE  
SISKIND JOHNSON."

Reairtel set forth the information that GUS HALL,  
General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), had  
instructed CG 5824-S\* that the information contained therein  
should be forwarded to the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP)  
in the form of a request from the CP, USA that JOHNSON's  
Polish citizenship be restored.

On September 26, 1967, CG 5824-S\* advised that  
he had arranged through JACK KLING, State Secretary of the  
Illinois District, CP, USA, to have a letter to the Central  
Committee, PUWP, delivered to the Polish Consulate through  
KAZIMIR SIUBA who has been used for such purposes in the  
past and concerning which the Bureau has been previously  
advised. On September 25, 1967, CG 5824-S\* had been advised  
by KLING that the letter had, in fact, been delivered to the  
Polish Consulate. Set forth below is the text of the letter.  
The information herein will be disseminated to the necessary  
files, suitably paraphrased and with an appropriate cautionary  
statement:

"September 20, 1967

Central Committee  
Polish United Workers Party

Dear Comrades:

As you know, Comrade Beatrice Johnson who  
was a charter member and still is a member of  
the Communist Party, USA and who was deported  
to Poland in 1950, is now working in Havana,  
Cuba, as the representative of our paper. Com-  
rade Beatrice Johnson also has a young daughter

- 1-904 *msj*
- ②-Bureau (RM)
  - 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
  - 2-Chicago
  - (1-A) 134-46 Sub B-128

WAB:MDW

(5)

79 OCT 23 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

6 OCT 19 1967

CG 134-46 Sub B

who is studying and working in Mexico City. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile has offered a position as a writer to Comrade Johnson. We feel that this is a desirable job for her because she is an able writer and has mastered the Spanish language. It would also keep her closer to her daughter and the rest of her family.

In order for Comrade Beatrice Johnson to travel, she would need a passport. Since she was born in Poland and came to the United States as an infant, she is considered a citizen of Poland. Since Comrade Beatrice Johnson says that a representative of your government had informed her that you would make a passport available to her, we are only suggesting that this procedure may be facilitated so that she could travel to Santiago, Chile, and assume her post as a writer around the first part of the coming year. The leadership of the CP of Chile would like for her to begin her work in January, 1968. She will in no way and in no sense represent our Party; she will merely be a newspaper person.

Comrade Beatrice Johnson has a brother in Poland who was also deported at about the same time. His name is George Siskind. He is now retired and lives in Warsaw.

We would appreciate anything you may do to legalize Comrade Johnson's citizenship. Undoubtedly your representative in Havana where Comrade Johnson is now stationed has more details if you need them. Comrade Beatrice Johnson can be reached in Havana through the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba.

We want to thank you for your comradely cooperation and solidarity.

With fraternal greetings,

Gus Hall  
General Secretary  
National Committee  
Communist Party, U.S.A.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

10/17/67

Director, FBI (100-428091)

REC 39

-6543

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C LA 104

Reurlet 10/10/67 and Bulet 9/19/67 regarding proposed changes for handling the recording of serial numbers of funds received from the Soviets by the Communist Party, USA.

The Bureau concurs with your recommendation that only original currency received from the Soviets should be processed as set out in referenced New York letter. Therefore, it will no longer be necessary to process converted currency. For the time being, you should retain all records of funds previously processed.

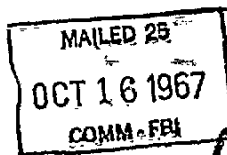
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

RCP:cst *cst*  
(5)

## NOTE:

Currency received from the Soviets is Xeroxed. New York and the Bureau's Statistical Section maintain records of the serial numbers of bills received. Then, the currency is exchanged for new bills and each time a withdrawal was made all exchanged bills were Xeroxed in an effort to trace money spent by the Party. Since the Party either took the money directly to a bank or placed it in storage for several months, this second step has become unproductive. In view of the fact that it requires a tremendous expenditure of Agent time in addition to the cost of the Xeroxing, it is felt it should be discontinued since benefits received do not justify the expense.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



343 WCLB  
79 OCT 23 1967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE II ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 10/10/67

ReBulet, 9/19/67, regarding proposed changes for handling of Solo funds.

The Solo operation originally was restricted to channelization of Soviet funds to the CP, USA, and the transmittal to and from the Soviets of information essentially related to CP activities. For some time now, however, this pattern has been changing, in that the Soviets are now desirous of utilizing the Solo operation in furtherance of their espionage activities. They specifically have requested that the Solo apparatus make available to them the names of individuals whom they can use as personal drops; they also have requested that the said apparatus purchase for them a laundry business that can be used as a drop. The Soviets also have requested that the Solo apparatus recommend to them individuals whom they can train and utilize in their other operations.

In view of these developments in the Solo operation, the NYO believes that the Solo case should be regarded as primarily an intelligence operation, with a potential of penetrating Soviet espionage activities. As such, it requires streamlining. Some of the administrative features of this operation - particularly the recording of converted money - as distinguished from original Soviet money, - involves unnecessary labor and expense.

The NYO believes that it should be no longer necessary to accumulate voluminous records of converted money, which involves Xeroxing and recording of individual bills.

- 1-904, 9x2
- 2-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
- 1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637)

ACB:eac  
(4)



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637

Xeroxing of converted money periodically requires the assignment for seven or eight days of four of our agents, working full time on this project. When Xeroxes are made, they are transmitted to the Bureau's Statistical Section for further recording, and then returned to NY.

Besides maintaining a current account of all money coming into, or removed from, its custody, the NYO makes a bookkeeping entry of individual bills coming into, or removed from, its custody.

Such operations, as described, are laborious and expensive. As regards original Soviet money, such operations are necessary with respect to the Trampus Program; but with respect to converted money they seem unnecessary. Even from a prosecutive standpoint, accumulation of records of converted money would appear to be of dubious value in establishing an admissible chain of evidence.

It is therefore recommended that in the future only original Soviet money be processed as above described.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *dw*

DATE: October 16, 1967 *Wey*

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/16/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

## ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:csp *esp*  
(7)

REC-39

100-428091-6544

6 OCT 19 1967

EX 104

79 OCT 23 1967 *343*

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

~~SECRET~~

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R.C. Putnam

BY LIAISON

Date: October 18, 1967  
To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

10-19-67  
delivered  
esth

SOLO

The following was supplied by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past.

Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, has accepted an invitation to be a leading participant representing the Communist Party, USA, at a seminar of the Institute of International Workers' Movement to be held sometime in November, 1967, in the Soviet Union. James Jackson, Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, International Affairs Commission, had previously been selected to attend this seminar as the representative of the Communist Party, USA.

In order to prevent discord within the leadership of the Communist Party, USA, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been requested to permit both Hall and Jackson to participate in this seminar.

Ab

The Institute of International Workers' Movement was set up by the Soviets to analyze problems in various countries of the world in order to draw political conclusions which could serve as guides for action by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Information received indicates that the proposed seminar will seek to relate the present developments of political forces in the world to the situation which existed at the time of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917.

100-428091-6545

100-428091

RCP:cst csk

(7)

SECRET  
Group 1  
REC 38

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

9 OCT 23 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation.

Data extracted from New York airtel 10/12/67,  
captioned "Solo."

~~SECRET~~



## ROUTE ON ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 10/12/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
           IS-C

On 10/11/67, there were transmitted to the Soviets from the CPUSA, via an NYC drop, several ciphered-partially coded messages, on microfilm, the plain texts of which are as follows:

(1) "CCCPSU Confidential

"Please have available in Prague, between October 16th and 23rd, visa for comrade CG 5824-S\* in name of SYDNEY S. LESSER.

"GUS HALL"

(2) "CCCPSU Confidential

"When TIMUR TIMOFEYEV was in New York a few weeks ago, comrade GUS HALL agreed to be leading participant representing CPUSA at the November seminar of Institute of International Workers' Movement. You will recall that at an earlier date we had designated comrade JAMES JACKSON to participate in this seminar in behalf of our Party. That

1-904, 9+0

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub C (TALANOV) (341)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb  
(8)

REC-67

OCT 20 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

67 OCT 24 1967

NY 100-134637

"was before the date was postponed. Comrade GUS HALL suggests that though he will carry through as promised, comrade JAMES JACKSON should participate in this seminar. For reasons that you will understand, involving delicate relationships in our leadership, it would be inadvisable to exclude him from participation in this seminar.

"CG 5824-S\*"

(3) "Central Committee - CCCPSU Confidential

"Dear Comrades:

"The following information concerning the character and behavior of SVETLANA ALLILWYEVA was obtained from a reliable source close to the editorial group with whom she has been associated. This source necessarily must remain anonymous for the time being.

"A lot of antagonism is building up amongst those who are her sponsors and those who work with her, especially among the people in the editorial department of the publishing house.

"Her personal behavior is reported as obnoxious. For example, SVETLANA ALLILWYEVA had been invited to be the house guest of her translator for a week. Three months later, she continued as a house guest of this woman, much to the latter's annoyance. Her personal behavior is described as arrogant, domineering, inconsiderate, and contemptuous of her hostess as well as the editorial associates around her.

"One of the brilliant literary personages around her who had to deal with SVETLANA ALLILWYEVA described her as a 'phony who is bordering on a mental breakdown.' She is haughty and scornful toward anyone who is not rich. She has a disdainful attitude towards the executives and editors of her publishers.

"Our source is of the opinion that those aware of her outrageous behavior would not be opposed to such facts being made public. There has been a rumor that a popular magazine would be interested in publishing such information.

NY 100-134637

"Our source is trying to obtain further pertinent information concerning the disgusting aristocratic behavior of SVETLANA ALLILWYEVA, which is repugnant to all around her.

"CG 5824-S\*"

(Re above, the confidential source referred to in paragraph one is LEM HARRIS (Bufile 100-15251) who allegedly obtained this information from some one (not identified) close to the managing editor of Harper-Row-Publishers. The editor was identified as EVANS THOMAS, son of NORMAN THOMAS, the Socialist leader.)

(4) "CCCPSU - Confidential

"Some months ago members of your Society of Jurists extended an invitation to WILLIAM STANDARD (Bufile 100-7853) to attend celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. As yet he has not heard anything further - in concrete form - about this invitation.

"WILLIAM STANDARD is an attorney most active in defense of workers and Negro rights. He is the author of a number of books on civil liberties and civil rights. He is an active participant in many progressive causes, and is also a generous contributor to our movement.

"CG 5824-S\*"

(5) "CCCPSU

"Although I will lead the discussion in behalf of our Party at the seminar of the Institute of International Workers Movement, I hope arrangements have been made for comrade JAMES JACKSON's active participation.

"GUS HALL"

(6) "Drop UNA next. If closed, use Drop VALERY. Eliminate Drop JANE; no longer available."

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 10/16/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

For the info of the Bureau and NY, CG 5824-S\* presently anticipates departure, without CG 6653-S, on Solo Mission 24 according to the following itinerary:

10/19/67 Leave Chicago 3:00 p.m., TWA Flt 800  
10/20/67 Arrive Paris, France, 7:30 a.m.  
10/20/67 Leave Paris, France, 9:10 a.m., Air  
France Flt 714; arrive Prague,  
Czechoslovakia, 10:50 a.m.

CG 5824-S\* is being completely briefed relative to security prior to his departure by contacting agents of the Chicago Office. The Bureau will be advised by teletype upon CG 5824-S\*'s actual departure.

1-904, 910  
③-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(5)

EX 109

REC-64

100-428091-6547

OCT 20 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

OCT 20 1967

10/12/67

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-86624)  
 SUBJECT: CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
 IS-C

ReNYairtel to Bureau, copy to Chicago, dated 10/03/67, captioned "COLO, IS-C," wherein it is reported that the CPUSA had suggested to the Soviets that they consider inviting JUAN SANTIAGO RIVERA of the CP of Puerto Rico to be a delegate to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, to be held in Moscow on November 7, 1967.

On 10/11/67, CG 5824-S\*, currently in NYC, advised that, according to GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CPUSA, JUAN SANTIAGO RIVERA will attend the aforesaid celebration in Moscow.

HALL also stated that [redacted] of Philadelphia would attend the said celebration as a member of the CPUSA delegation thereto.

b6  
b7C

San Juan and Philadelphia are requested to handle this matter in accordance with current Bureau instructions relating to foreign travel by security subjects.

- ④ - Bureau (RM)  
 (1-100-428081) (COLO)
- 1 - Chicago (154-40) (OF 154-CA) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-45455) [redacted] (RM)
- 1 - San Juan (100-150) (JUAN SANTIAGO RIVERA) (RM)
- 1 - New York (RM)

b6  
b7C

AGJ:msb  
 (9)

100-428081

NOT RECORDED

154 OCT 2 1967

246  
 55 OCT 25 1967

100-3-81-10545  
 ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~SECRET~~

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

BY LIAISON

Date: October 18, 1967  
To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: SVETLANA ALLILUYEVA  
*10/19/67 delivered*  
*SOLO*

Reference is made to my letter dated August 30, 1967, which set forth information concerning captioned individual which was being furnished communist parties throughout the world by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The following was supplied by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past.

The Communist Party, USA, has advised the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that Svetlana Alliluyeva has been described by a "reliable source close to the editorial group with whom Alliluyeva has been associated" as follows:

Her personal behavior is obnoxious. She is arrogant, domineering, inconsiderate, and contemptuous of her hostess and editorial associates. She has been described by one of her editorial associates as "a phony who is bordering on a mental breakdown." She is haughty and scornful of anyone who is not rich.

The Communist Party, USA, has been informed that associates of Alliluyeva aware of her outrageous behavior would not be opposed to having this information made public. The Soviets were also advised that there is a rumor that a popular magazine in the United States would be most interested in publishing such information.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091

RCP:cst  
(7)

BY COURIER SVC.  
cc's only  
79 OCT 20

COMM-FBI

TELETYPE UNIT

~~SECRET~~  
Group 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

~~SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

When additional information concerning this matter is available, you will be advised.

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

NOTE:

Information in reBulet, 8/30/67, is basically identical to that being furnished the Soviets by the Communist Party, USA, and it may indicate a "playback" to ingratiate the Communist Party, USA, in the line being espoused by the Soviets regarding the defection of Alliluyeva. The source who furnished this information to the Party was an individual (not identified) who is close to Evans Thomas, the son of Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party leader. Evans Thomas is an editor of Harper-Roy Publishers, the firm which is handling the publication of Alliluyeva's book.

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation.

Data extracted from New York airtel 10/12/67, captioned "Solo."

~~SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: October 18, 1967

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Solo is the code word which refers to the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.

My memorandum 10/9/67 advised that CG 5824-S\* was to depart on Solo Mission 24 to the Soviet Union about 10/18/67. It noted that CG 5824-S\* would attend the 11/7/67 celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the "Great October Revolution" in Moscow, as well as making contact with Soviet officials on Communist Party, USA, business.

Chicago has now advised that the informant will depart the United States on the afternoon of 10/19/67.

### ACTION:

For information. You will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

100-428091

RCP:cst  
(5)

REC 6

EX-108

100-428091-6549

OCT 22 1967

79 OCT 25 1967



VIA TELETYPE

OCT 19 1967

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

100  
WA -1- 407PM DRS

URGENT N 10/19/67 DCM

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON /ENCODED/  
FROM CHICAGO

SOLO: IS-2.

CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR-S ASTERISK DEPARTED THREE PM THIS  
DATE ON SOLO MISSION TWENTYFOUR VIA TWA FLT EIGHT HUNDRED  
ENROUTE MOSCOW VIA PARIS AND PRAGUE.

ENDDCYVZ/

MSE R RELAY

FI FBI WASH DC

REC 3

100-428091-6550

EX 106

6 OCT 24 1967

OCT 19 1967

CC R. Putnam

RELAYED TO

67 OCT 26 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

NY AIRTEL

TO : SAC (100-134673)

DATE: 10/19/67

FROM : SA PAUL BOYCE TOMPKINS (#34)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS-C

Information contained herein was obtained from [redacted] on dates indicated by SAS [redacted] THOMAS D. J. BROOKS and Mr. [redacted] of CIA. [redacted] is a confidential informant, contact with whom has been insufficient to establish his reliability.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

There should be no dissemination of the contents of this memorandum and information from [redacted] outside of the Bureau without Bureau authorization.

In the event KGB code names appear in this memorandum, they are not to be further disseminated.

The classification given any communication prepared for dissemination outside the Bureau containing information from [redacted] will depend upon the nature and content of such information, each case standing on its own merits. Under no circumstances should a classification of less than "Confidential" be utilized.

b7D

CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN THE HANDLING OF ANY INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM [redacted] AND NO ACTION TAKEN WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THIS HIGHLY SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- 1-Bureau (100-428091) (SOLO)
- 1-Bureau (105-14021) (TALANOV)
- 2-Bureau [redacted]
- 1-New York (105-40818) (TALANOV)
- 1-New York [redacted]
- 1-New York (Tickler)
- 1-New York

100-428091-  
NOT RECORDED  
126 OCT 26 1967

b7D

PBT:aml  
(8)



6 OCT 30 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134673

9/5/67

A discussion was had with the source concerning various KGB communications being sent from the New York Residency to KGB Headquarters, Moscow.

Source was asked if he knew or recalled any cases in which any portion, if not the entirety of a dispatch would have been enciphered. Source said that this would never be done and he emphasized the word never. He then went on to observe that the only exception to this rule was in connection with work being done in the "MARAT" Line. Source recalled that in connection with "MARAT", the New York Residency had sent some microfilms with ciphered letters, which were decoded at the Central Office in Moscow.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 10/20/67

ReCGairtel to Bureau dated October 3, 1967.

Enclosed are two Xerox copies for the Bureau and one Xerox copy for New York of a one-page letter entitled, "LETTRE CIRCULAIRE AUX ORGANISATIONS REVOLUTIONNAIRES ET DEMOCRATIQUES" received from the Central Committee of the Party of the Popular Entente Haiti in Mexico City. This letter was received in two separate communications in the Solo drop box maintained by the Chicago Office in the name of NORMA HANSEL, Box 7363, New Post Office, Chicago, Illinois 60680, on October 12 and 17, 1967. The postmark on the first communication was illegible and the second communication was postmarked October 10, 1967.

A special supplement of "Voz Operaria," organ of the Central Committee of the Brazilian CP entitled, "Pela Unidade Do Partido," previously furnished the Bureau with reairtel, was received on October 12, 1967, addressed to the Chicago Solo drop in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois 60680. The postmark on this communication was illegible.

The originals were furnished to CG 5824-S\* who in turn mailed them to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, in New York City.

The above is submitted for the information of the Bureau and New York.

2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW  
(4)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NOV 19 1967

REC 3

100-428091-6551

6 OCT 24 1967

INT. SEC. 2

ENCLOSURES (2) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

2 Xerox copies of one-page letter from  
CC, Party of the Popular Entente Haiti

RE: SOLO  
IS-C

Bufile 100-428091  
CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGlet to Bureau 10/20/67



100-428091-6551

ENCLOSURE

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

Memorandum to revolutionary and democratic organizations.

(Solidarity Days with the Haitian people - October 17 through October 22).

October 22, 1967, will mark the tenth anniversary of the initiation of the dictatorship of Francois Duvalier in Haiti.

It has been ten years of crime, corruption and abuses of all types. It has been a ten-year period during which the people of Haiti have been plunged into terror and have seen their miseries increase.

Duvalier and his "Bogeymen" have transformed Haiti into a true hell. Citizens have been taken from their homes, tortured and executed. Entire families have been massacred because one member was suspected of anti-government activities. There are no laws, no courts or any moral limitation to the suppression. Even children have been murdered. Hundreds of political prisoners have died or gone insane in prisons modeled after Nazi concentration camps. Thousands of citizens have fled abroad to escape the bloody rage of this dictator who has not even hesitated to exile two of his own daughters.

Haiti, under the régime of "Papa Doc," has the unhappy honor of being the poorest country on the American continent, with an illiteracy rate of 90 per cent, one doctor for every 15,000 inhabitants and an annual budget of 24 million dollars for a population of almost five million people.

Robbing our nation without pity, Duvalier and his cronies have sent millions of dollars to Swiss banks. Yankee companies located in Haiti have cynically plundered the riches of our community: The Reynolds Mining Corporation exports annually five hundred thousand tons of bauxite. FAMPCO exports two million dollars worth of meat.

TRANSLATED BY:   
THOMAS McLAUGHLIN, Jr.:cpl   
November 9, 1967

Faced with this situation of exploitation and terror, democratic Haitian forces launched a struggle against Duvalier and his accomplice, American imperialism, for the installation of a national, popular government.

Our Entente Populaire party has placed itself in the forefront of this struggle. Since its foundation on October 17, 1959, our party has worked under the most difficult conditions of secrecy to prepare the working masses and peasants for the decisive struggle of national salvation. The efforts of our party, especially during the last several months, have been highly successful in increasing the difficulties of the Duvalier government. Our party has been assisted by the democratic forces and the great prospect of victory for our people.

Faced with the rising force of the people of Haiti, U. S. imperialism has camouflaged itself behind an organization in New York called the Haitian Coalition and has formulated plans of intervention designed to frustrate the struggle of the Haitian people for their liberation.

Our Entente Populaire party makes an appeal to all democratic and revolutionary organizations, to forces of progress, national liberation and socialism, to request their fraternal support in the just cause of the Haitian people.

We ask you to:

- make international public opinion more and more aware of the criminal policies of Duvalier,
- denounce and oppose the Yankee intervention plans against the aspirations of the Haitian people for liberty and independence,
- express in every way possible your solidarity with the struggle of the Haitian people for a new independence and social progress.

Central Committee of the  
Entente Populaire Party of Haiti

Port-au-Prince  
September 20, 1967

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 10/18/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

*S-R. Proffman*

On 10/17/67, there was received at a New York City drop two letters from WILLIAM KASHTAN, head of the Canadian CP, to GUS HALL, under the latter's pseudonym HERBERT. The letters are as follows:

"October 11, 1967

"Dear Herbert:

"Glad to hear that Claude will be available. If he has the time he might send up a brief biography the lads can use in Winnipeg for publicizing the affair.

"Happy to know of the positive attitude taken re our conversations. Perhaps they can be continued in November. Expect to leave the 1st with a few other lads.

"All the best,

"As ever,

"B

1-904, 9+9

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)  
 1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM) 109  
 1-NY 134-91 (INV) (41)  
 1-NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:eac  
 (7)

REC-25 100-428091-6552

6 OCT 25 1967

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

79 OCT 30 1967

*Q Date as high as possible from available source & will be disseminated as*



NY 100-134637

"P.S. The office in Winnipeg is

607 Main Street

Bill Ross can be reached at his home

447 Mc Adam Ave. Phone JU2-6663"

"October 13, 1967

"Dear Herbert,

"Just received a note from Claude that he will come to Toronto a few days earlier. Glad to hear that. He should get in touch with Norman at the office when he arrives.

"All the best,

"As ever

"B"

Re above, see NY airtel 9/25/67, reflecting that the Canadian CP desired that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT go to Winnipeg on November 5th, to attend a CP meeting there.

"Bill Ross" in the letter dated 10/11/67, is believed to be the head of the Canadian CP in Winnipeg. "Norman" mentioned in the letter dated 10/13/67, is NORMAN FREED, a Canadian CP functionary.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

ROUTE IN ~~PLAIN~~ ~~TEXT~~ ~~CODE~~

Date: 10/19/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re Bureau letter, 9/26/67, regarding the proposed program to develop possible replacements for SOLO and also to neutralize those present Party leaders who possess sufficient stature in the Party to be considered logical replacements for SOLO, and who cannot be brought under the Bureau's control.

The following is not intended to be a complete reply to the Bureau's letter of 9/26/67, but is intended to advise the Bureau of an opportunity to neutralize JAMES JACKSON, who is scheduled to go to Moscow to attend the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution, discrediting him in the eyes of the Soviets.

According to CG 5824-S\*, who was recently in New York City, JACKSON plans to go to Moscow approximately a week in advance of the rest of the CPUSA delegation, headed by GUS HALL. The NYO feels that this situation presents an opportunity to publish in the press an article which might have an effect of convincing the Soviets that JACKSON constitutes a threat to their operations.

- 3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-SUB B) (AM RM)
- 1 - New York (134-91) (INV) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

ACB:gmd  
(7)

Classified by 71574  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2 & 3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

OCT 25 1967

79 OCT 30 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

Document downloaded to Secret  
Declassified by 6801RS R2812/2011

Memo, C.D. Bureau to Sullivan 10/25/67  
RCP cat- AIT to NY  
R/S/10/19/67  
re classification  
10/21/76  
p/11/76

NY 100-134637

~~SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

The following news item, designed to effect that purpose, was prepared by the NYO, and has been approved by NY 694-S\* and CG 5824-S\*, the latter having suggested several changes in the NYO item.

If the Bureau approves, it is suggested that this item be made available to the daily press - particularly the "New York Daily News", for publication as soon after JACKSON's departure from the USA as possible. To date, JACKSON has succeeded in concealing his date of departure, and other travel plans. Neither NY 694-S\* nor CG 5824-S\* have been able to obtain any information with respect thereto. If such information becomes available, however, the NYO suggests that, if possible, JACKSON be photographed as he boards the plane for Moscow and that the aforesaid article be published in the following day's papers.

The proposed article is to the following effect:

"Dr. James Jackson, member of the CPUSA Secretariat and National Executive Board, and former publisher of the Party's official organ, 'The Worker', has left for Moscow, where it is reported, he will be a member of a CPUSA delegation invited to attend the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution. The others in the delegation, of which Gus Hall is the head, are still here.

"It is a matter of speculation why Jackson has gone alone to Moscow, well in advance of Hall and the other delegates to the celebration. While editor and publisher of 'The Worker', Jackson was known to be in frequent contact with Soviet and satellite country representatives. Jackson made no particular effort to conceal such contacts. In fact, he is known to have mentioned with pride that he personally was acquainted with one or another such foreign representative and has been even a guest in their homes. Since the Party line is that the Party is not 'Moscow-controlled,' some Party officials are worried about what they consider indiscreet contact on the part of Jackson with Soviet and satellite country representatives.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-134637

"Jackson, however, apparently felt that, since he was editor of 'The Worker', he could make contacts with Russians and representatives of other communist countries under the disguise of a journalist, and that U.S. intelligence agencies would believe that these contacts were concerned exclusively with the routine business of the Party people. He reportedly resented insinuations that he was violating Party security.

"What is now particularly interesting is that, since relinquishing his 'Worker' post, Jackson has now been publicly identified as the Secretary of the CPUSA International Department, and has even travelled to France as an official CPUSA delegate to the French Party's Congress. Now he is making more frequent contacts than ever with the Russian and representative of other communist countries. It is significant that Jackson's latest book, 'US Negroes in Battle; from Little Rock to Watts,' was published not in the United States, but by the Soviets.

"All of this has lead to conjecture concerning the real purpose of his current mission to Moscow in advance of the rest of the CPUSA delegation. An official of an intelligence agency, who declined to comment officially, or to be quoted, intimated, however, that the government is not unaware of Jackson's frequent contacts with foreign representatives in this country. It could be inferred that Jackson's assignment on his return would be of even greater interest."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-425942)

10/18/67

SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED] (ADM)

b7D

ReNYlet, 6/16/67.

1. Recommendation

[REDACTED] It is recommended that authority to pay [REDACTED] be continued in the amounts up to \$300.00 a month for services and \$75.00 for expenses for a four month period effective 11/1/67.

b7D

2. Residence and Employment

[REDACTED] resides at [REDACTED] New York, and is employed by American Electric Power Company, 2 Broadway, New York City, holding the position of [REDACTED]

3. Current Membership in Organizations

[REDACTED] is presently a member-at-large of the Communist Party (CP) and paying CP dues in the [REDACTED] of the CP and the [REDACTED] Section of the CP.

4. Summary of Information Furnished During Pertinent Period

b7D

[REDACTED] continues to make himself available to NY 694-S\* and has been advised by NY 694-S\*, to "hold tight and keep low" and that he, NY 694-S\*, would determine what [REDACTED] could do in the future.

③ - Bureau (RM)  
(1 - 100-428091) (SOLO)  
New York

100-428091-  
NOT RECORDED  
78 OCT 23 1967

JPH:rmp

APPROVED  
Date OCT 30 1967

70 NOV 3 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-428091-88

[redacted]

Informant also attends and reports of meetings of the [redacted] Section of the CP.

b7D

[redacted] presently attends meetings of the [redacted] of the CP and has submitted reports on same.

5. Amounts Paid For Services

<u>Date</u>	<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Services</u>
June, 1967	\$25.00	\$250.00
July, 1967	13.00	250.00
August, 1967	-----	250.00
September, 1967	-----	250.00

6. Type and Number of Meetings Attended and Other Activities

[redacted] has attended two meetings of the [redacted] of the CP and five meetings of the [redacted] Section of the CP, and has reported on same.

b7D

7. Number of Reports Submitted

[redacted] has submitted seven written reports.

b7D

[REDACTED]

8. Information Furnished of Unusual Value

Informant continues to report on the [REDACTED] of the CP. During this period, informant has become a member of the [REDACTED] of the CP, and is reporting on same.

9. Approximate Number of Persons On Whom Informant Furnished Information

Informant furnished information on 35 people.

10. Steps Being Taken To Advance Informant

[REDACTED] continues to be available to NY 694-S\* and continues to be in contact with LEM HARRIS to obtain information regarding his activities.

b7D

It should be noted that [REDACTED] is the first informant ever to penetrate the [REDACTED] of the CP, which is closed group meeting clandestinely for security reasons. [REDACTED] continues to be encouraged to entertain members of the [REDACTED] of the CP, at his residence, and continues to be in contact with LEM HARRIS to obtain information regarding his activities.

During this period informant has been encouraged to make himself available to the CP group in [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] b7D

11. Stability and Reliability

During contacts with [REDACTED] nothing has come to the attention of contacting agents indicating instability or unreliability or that informant would be a source of embarrassment to the Bureau.

12. Indoctrination Against Disclosure

Every opportunity has been taken to properly indoctrinate this informant against making any disclosure of his relationship with the Bureau by any means whatsoever.

13. Action on Information Furnished

Appropriate action has been taken on all information furnished by this informant.

14. Miscellaneous

None.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *JC*

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: October 23, 1967

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

*w*

*S-R. Putnam*

*JD/Bruma*

*1/5*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/23/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

**ACTION:**

For information

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

*HS* HS:cspecp

(7)

REC 51

100-428091-6554

**EX-113**

6 OCT 26 1967

*AK*

67 OCT 30 1967

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/25/67

airtel

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. D. Ryan  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

To: SAC, New York

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

~~Confidential~~

Reurairtel 10/19/67 which recommended release of news article to New York "Daily News" regarding departure of James Jackson for the Soviet Union.

Immediately advise the Bureau as soon as Jackson departs so that the Crime Records Division can release article to appropriate sources at the New York "Daily News." Also attempt to photograph Jackson boarding the plane. When advising of Jackson's departure, advise if photograph obtained. Provide this matter closest supervision to insure utmost benefit can be obtained.

RCP:cst  
(9)

100-428091-6555

REC 511

6 OCT 26 1967

NOTE:

See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated October 23, 1967, same caption, Prepared by RCP:cst.

Classified by 7157 P  
Exempt from GDS Category 243  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~Confidential~~

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 3  
OCT 25 1967  
COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Conrad *Due*

DATE: October 27, 1967

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: **SOLO**  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*5- Putnam*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/27/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 425 GR 63, was intercepted. Although the decryption of this message is believed to be essentially correct, certain portions may be in error due to difficult radio reception resulting in the message being garbled.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

### ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

*2*  
**ENCLOSURE**

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:ccb  
(7) *ccb*

**EX 104**

REC 5

*100-428091-6556*

6 OCT 31 1967

**53 NOV 6 1967**

10/27/67

NR 0425 GR 063

10/27/67

03210 63949 93423 56925 45994 87870 01928 23723 12983 93618  
31363 09788 52462 29398 72905 26839 61299 36371 93995 86160  
33947 07591 67651 70941 73176 78492 24692 38757 59822 73814  
58501 67882 63245 12833 98251 11958 57183 96999 70054 64604  
62308 27964 58847 45488 39794 97140 55173 22849 32975 14509  
59989 63255 47657 67177 99707 16653 15118 97093 32769 54199  
66410 41391 81648

NR 0425 GR 063

10/27/67

FOR OAK. I. <sup>F</sup> NO NEW CIRCUMSTANCES <sup>N</sup> APPEARED <sup>H</sup> PAT. PAT. CY. ILDS  
CHILD. MUST LEAVE FOR WAXE <sup>V</sup> CELEBRATIONS <sup>R</sup> THROUGH OFFICE  
BEFORE OTHER MEMBERS OF WAXE <sup>V</sup> LAND <sup>T.S</sup> LEF <sup>U</sup> SHE SHOULD BRING LATES  
MATERIALS. <sup>OOK</sup> BOOKS AND MAGAZ <sup>IN</sup> LES. <sup>H</sup> /UB. PLEASE CONF <sup>R</sup> IRE  
<sup>PTI ON</sup>  
CE ~~8/4/67~~

100-428091-6556  
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/23/67

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS-C

ReBulet dated September 19, 1967, regarding the proposed conversion of the retirement fund for CG 5824-S\* to U. S. Savings Bonds.

The proposal set forth in reBulet has been discussed with CG 5824-S\*, and he is in thorough agreement with the proposal as outlined. Therefore, upon receipt of specific instructions from the Bureau, the Chicago Office will take immediate steps to implement the new procedure.

2

Let to NYKCB  
11/1/67  
Rep. ent

- 1-904, 9+D
- ②-Bureau (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)

REC 39

100-428091-6557

8 NOV 1 1967

EX-108

NOV 1 1967



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

57 NOV 3 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 10/24/67

In view of the activation of the new cover legend in the name of SYDNEY S. LESSER, there no longer exists a need for the cover legend in the name of HAROLD M. JULES. The only remaining use for this name is on the safety deposit box maintained at the Mid-America National Bank, Chicago, Illinois, for the storage of Solo funds. The items of identification will be retained for this purpose.

In dissolving the previous legend in the name of JULES, this office has now closed the checking account in that name, #40-2119-4, at the LaSalle National Bank, Chicago, Illinois. The amount of \$100 authorized for the opening of the new account in the name of LESSER has now been replaced by the amount of \$100 of Bureau funds in the JULES account and has now been returned to the confidential fund clerk of this office. It will be deposited in the Chicago Confidential Fund and a check in that amount made payable to the Treasurer of the United States will be forwarded to the Bureau. The amount of \$200 of the informant's money which he had deposited to the JULES account has now been deposited in the new Solo legend checking account, #38-3468-9, at the LaSalle National Bank in the name of SYDNEY S. LESSER.

A tickler has been set for CG 5824-S\* to pay each year's rental of the Mid-America safety deposit box either in person or by Postal Money Order, thus obviating the necessity of maintaining this inactive checking account and tying up \$100 in Bureau funds.

1-904 960  
②-Bureau (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(3)

REC-62

100-428091-6558

EX 109

18 NOV 1 1967



AEROX COPY MADE BY  
VOUCHER STAMP SECTION

53 NOV 8 1967 Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

# ROUTE TO ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/25/67

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS-C

Re Bureau letters 9/26/67 and 10/17/67.

In commenting on matters requested by the Bureau, it seems fitting to treat SOLO informants separately, since they perform different functions: NY 694-S\* is the technical man for the apparatus, and CG 5824-S\* is the political arm of SOLO.

### NY 694-S\*

At present, the New York Office has NY 4309-S\* and [redacted] in a position to assist NY 694-S\* as the situation allows. [redacted] has participated in very minor phases of SOLO apparatus work, and is generally available for additional responsibilities.

NY 4309-S\* now directly participates in the day-to-day operation of the apparatus (radio monitor). NY 4309-S\* and NY 694-S\* are now in more frequent contact with each other and the situation as regards NY 4309-S\*' assuming additional responsibilities is beginning to look more favorable. On the weekend of 9/30-10/1/67, NY 4309-S\* and [redacted] visited with NY 694-S\* and his family at their summer residence. They were favorably received. In addition, NY 4309-S\* has been given a contract by NY 694-S\* to visit the residence of GUS HALL this Fall in order to make a survey for possible future hi-fidelity installation. If this turns out favorably, NY 4309-S\* will then be fully accredited to SOLO apparatus work and in a position to advance as far as circumstances allow. Once NY 4309-S\* has become firmly established, [redacted] will be able to assist.

- 2 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM) #
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-SUB B) (AM RM)
- 1 - New York [redacted] (TOPLEV) (100-134637) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

JJK:gmd  
(5)

NOV 2 1967



67

6

1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637

With this start in mind, it is felt that we should attempt to begin to line up some younger members to assist in apparatus work. A most likely candidate is [redacted] who could become an assistant to either or both NY 694-S\* and NY 4309-S\*. [redacted] appears to be particularly appealing since he is young, [redacted] married, sufficiently healthy for SOLO but probably not for [redacted] will enter [redacted] this year and has been with us since high school when he became involved with CP youth groups. Informant is now a member of a CP youth club. He is generally easy to control and is properly motivated. The New York Office does not now have other youth informants who seem to fit into our immediate plans for the SOLO apparatus. b7D

The Bureau sets forth five comments in referenced letter of 9/26/67, on which it desires comment. Due to the nature of apparatus work, it is felt that not all five areas pertain to replacements and/or assistants for NY 694-S\*; however, it is felt that, in substance, they have been covered above.

It would seem from a review that we now have one informant involved as an assistant to NY 694-S\* on the day-to-day operation of the SOLO apparatus. We have another informant who is available to assist, but is without an assignment. In addition, we are proposing a youth informant who should be of assistance in some future year.

Therefore, our immediate program for an assistant and/or replacement for NY 694-S\* is:

1. To continue to make NY 4309-S\* more active in apparatus work.
2. Attempt to bring [redacted] into apparatus work no matter how minor the task.
3. Attempt to get [redacted] further involved in active apparatus work. b7D
4. Arrange circumstances for [redacted] to be recommended to NY 694-S\* as an assistant.



NY 100-134637

5. Seek another informant who could be brought into apparatus work.

CG 5824-S\*

CG 5824-S\* is the political arm of the SOLO apparatus. From a practical standpoint, he could be replaced by a member of the National Committee, National Executive Board or Secretariat, or any trusted old time Comrade who happens to be the choice of GUS HALL. Although the Russians are reported to direct CG 5824-S\* to remain away from certain CP meetings and do not want his name publicly mentioned as a National Committee member, it would seem that a suitable replacement would have to be either a current member of the National Committee or one of most recent date who has remained close to the leadership. Therefore, the choice is quite open to probably a hundred or more people. Further, we may consider that the political functions of SOLO can be split amongst several leaders or functionaries. In reply to the five points set out in referenced Bureau letter of 9/26/67, the following is noted:

1. All members of the National Committee in New York City should be considered as replacement for CG 5824-S\*. Certain members of the New York District Committee also qualify. In addition, personal friends of GUS HALL, such as [redacted] and [redacted] can qualify.

2. We are not now in a position to identify those people who could never be placed under Bureau control until we are certain that they cannot be made available under item number 1. b7D

3. A review of current informants who may be considered as a replacement for CG 5824-S\* has determined that [redacted] who is mentioned for apparatus work, can possibly be used in connection with the Canadian phase of the SOLO apparatus.

4. We should review all members of the National Committee and leaders or former leaders of the larger Communist Party Districts to see if any might be considered worthy of approaching for this operation.

NY 100-134637

5. We should await the results of item number 4 before making a decision on this matter.

Basically, our problem in replacing CG 5824-S\* is developing a present or former nationally known, reliable CPUSA or CP District functionary who is known to GUS HALL, and then arranging for a logical meeting with CG 5824-S\*. At the same time, we should attempt to neutralize only those individuals who are actually a threat to the SOLO apparatus.

In order to proceed with this most important assignment, the New York Office will designate two agents to be assigned full time to the development of replacement for this apparatus, as well as a neutralizing phase of the SOLO program. In this regard, SAS JOHN A. HAAG and [redacted] who have a great deal of experience in the Toplev Program, will be reassigned from Toplev to the replacement program of SOLO.

In order to maintain the present effectiveness of our current Toplev Program, a separate letter will be directed to the Bureau recommending certain modifications in this program so that we may be able to conduct more interviews to make up for the losses incurred by the reassignment of SAS HAAG and [redacted].

A separate letter will be submitted to the Bureau within two weeks setting out specific steps in our program and requesting authority to proceed along specific lines.

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/26/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

During the period 10/13-18/67 CG 5824-S\* advised  
SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE as follows:

While the informant was in NYC during the period  
9/27-10/13/67, he was in contact on a number of occasions  
with GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, for the purpose  
of being briefed by HALL in preparation for the current  
Solo Mission. In addition, CG 5824-S\* was in contact with  
a number of other individuals relative to matters which would  
have to be handled with the Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union (CPSU), although these individuals were not aware  
that CG 5824-S\* would handle these matters personally.  
Among these were HELEN WINTER, Secretary of the National  
Organization Commission of the CP, USA; and, LEE DLUGIN,  
member of the National Committee, CP, USA. Set forth below  
is information concerning the tasks set forth by HALL for  
CG 5824-S\* while on the current Solo Mission.

Of course, the main concern of GUS HALL was the  
discussions which would be carried on by CG 5824-S\* for  
the CPSU subsidy of the CP, USA for the year 1968. CG 5824-S\*

③-Bureau (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)

1-Chicago

WAB:MDW

(5)

EX 109

6 NOV 2 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

67 NOV 6 1967

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

specifically asked HALL how much money he should attempt to get from the CPSU for the coming year. HALL had no suggestions, although he had a few ideas. First of all, he stated that CG 5824-S\* should not overstate the case that the CPUSA is broke nor too flatly state that the CPUSA will not get any money from the bequests left to the Party, information concerning which has already appeared in the public press. He approved of the message which had been sent earlier on this subject via the Solo apparatus stating that the press had exaggerated the amounts bequeathed to the Party and that in view of the legal obstacles being raised by the authorities, the Party may not, in fact, receive the money.

HALL was reluctant to name any concrete figure for the amount which will be needed for the launching of the new daily Marxist newspaper of the CPUSA. He stated that the CPSU should be reminded that a new building will be needed to put out the paper--the Party must either buy a new building or rent some very large loft area. This will cost many thousands of dollars. To this must be added the cost of new machinery and the CPSU should be told this will cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. He stated that it will take as much as a million dollars to get the daily paper going and that there would be a deficit in the first year's operation of \$600,000 to \$700,000 at a minimum.

In order to justify the CPUSA's request for funds from the CPSU, HALL then launched into a recounting of the difficult tasks facing the CPUSA during the coming year, especially as they relate to the 1968 electoral campaign. Information concerning these matters raised by HALL as well as other subjects which HALL expects CG 5824-S\* to handle while abroad have already been disseminated by this office under the individual case captions.

CG 5824-S\* informed HALL that he will do the best he can to compose a logical request for funds, requesting as much as he can justify. He will engage in preliminary discussions with the leadership of the CPSU on this subject following which HALL may step in and fight for as much as he thinks is necessary. CG 5824-S\* cautioned HALL, however, that all CG 5824-S\* expects from HALL is that HALL will back up the statements and requests made by the informant. This HALL agreed to do.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : SAC (105-56356)

DATE: 10/26/67 *NY Airtel*

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: VLADIMIR AVDEYEV  
IS - R

*5/1*  
[REDACTED] Information contained herein was obtained from [REDACTED] on dates indicated by SAS [REDACTED] and THOMAS D.J. BROOKS, and Mr. [REDACTED] of the Central Intelligence Agency. [REDACTED] is a confidential informant, contact with whom has been insufficient to establish his reliability.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

There should be no dissemination of the contents of this memorandum and information from [REDACTED] outside of the Bureau without Bureau authorization.

In the event KGB code names appear in this memorandum, they are not to be further disseminated.

The classification given any communication prepared for dissemination outside the Bureau containing information from [REDACTED] will depend upon the nature and content of such information, each case standing on its own merits. Under no circumstances should a classification of less than "Confidential" be utilized.

b7D

CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN THE HANDLING OF ANY INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM [REDACTED] AND NO ACTION TAKEN WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF THIS HIGHLY SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

- 1 - Bureau (105-111416) (AVDEYEV)
- 2 - Bureau [REDACTED]
- 1 - Bureau (105-40818) (TALANOV)
- 1 - Bureau (105-128096) (PIROGOV)
- 1 - Bureau (100-428091) (SOLO)
- 1 - Bureau (65-70405) (TOOB)
- 1 - Bureau (65- ) (GYMNAST)
- 1 - Bureau (65-47976) (SIS-KGB)
- 1 - Bureau (65-60354) (KGB-ILLEGALS DIRECTORATE)
- 1 - New York [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York (105-14931) (TALANOV)
- 1 - New York (105-65065) (PIROGOV)
- 1 - New York (100-134673) (SOLO)
- 1 - New York (65-24144) (TOOB)
- 1 - New York (65-24505) (GYMNAST)
- 1 - New York (65-14635) (SUB L) (SIS-KGB)
- 1 - New York (65-23628) (KGB-ILLEGALS DIRECTORATE)
- 1 - New York (Tickler)

b7D

*106-428091-*  
**NOT RECORDED**  
**120 OCT 31 1967**

*5-RR [Signature]*

*28*  
**67 NOV 8 1967**

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 105-56356

On 9/12/67, the source was queried as to the practice of the KGB NY Residency to utilize case officers of one Line to the work of another Line.

The source advised that this is not an uncommon practice. He recalled that there were hundreds of cases where case officers of one Line were utilized to do the work of another Line. The source cited, as an example, the case of VLADIMIR AVDEYEV, a Line "KR" officer, being utilized to assist NIKOLAI TALANOV in the "MARAT" Line. He also cited as an example, the utilization of VIKTOR PIROGOV, a Line "X" officer in the handling of the KGB agent with the code name, "PINK" who has no connection with Line "X" operations. The source also pointed out the transfer of a Line "PR" agent, KGB code name "BRUM", from Line "PR" to Line "N".

In this regard, specific inquiry was made of the source as to his knowledge of any specific case, when he was Acting Chief of the KGB NY Residency, where he had instructed a KGB officer of Line "X" or Line "PR" to establish contact with an illegal agent. The source stated that no such incidents occurred and personal contacts with illegal agents are never handled by officers of Lines other than Line "N". The source stated, however, that officers of other than Line "N" can be utilized to fill drops or make signals for illegal agents. The source stated he could not remember any particular instances in this latter case.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/27/67

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Before leaving Chicago on October 19, 1967, CG 5824-S\* directed a letter to NORMAN FREED, Educational Director of the CP of Canada. This letter was in consequence of a request made of CG 5824-S\* by BETTY GANNETT, member of the National Executive Board, CP, USA, and Editor of "Political Affairs," the theoretical journal of the CP, USA. This letter was sent to FREED at 24 Cecil Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The text of the letter which is self-explanatory is set forth below:

(undated)

Dear Norm (Freed),

How are you? I have not seen you in a long time.

I just talked to Betty G. (Gannett) and she asked if it is possible for you to send her some outlines and other material that you use in your schools. You can send it in her name in care of Political Affairs. Should you want any material you can ask Betty for it and she will be glad to send it to you.

I hope you are feeling well and I hope your wife is also in good health. I assume you had an enjoyable vacation. We missed you.

Best regards,

(CG 5824-S\*)

- REC-23 100-428091-6561
- ②-Bureau (RM)
  - 1-New York (100-134637) (Info RM)
  - 1-Chicago

NOV 2 1967

WAB:MDW  
(4)



NOV 6 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : *mg/gh* SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: *SOLO*  
IS-C

DATE: 10/30/67

On October 25, 1967, the Chicago Office received an air mail communication for CG 5824-S\* which had been transmitted by the Brazilian Communist Party to a Solo drop box maintained by the Chicago Office in the name of JOHN SHOULDERS, Modern Book Store, 6624 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626, USA. The communication bore the return address of Laboratorio De Pesquisas, Farmaceutico - Cientificas, Dep. Internacional, Rua Uruguai, 229, Rio De Janeiro.

Enclosed with this communication was a fifteen-page Portuguese language document entitled, "BOLETIN DE INFORMACION PARA EL EXTERIOR" dated July, 1967. The postmark on this communication was illegible.

*Heard* Xerox copies of the above fifteen-page document have been made by the Chicago Office, and two copies are being enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one copy for the New York Office. *Q*

It is suggested that if the Bureau feels that translation of this material might be of some value, copies of such translations should be furnished to New York and Chicago for information.

Chicago will maintain the original document until the return of CG 5824-S\* from his present mission or will forward this document to New York when GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, returns to the United States.

②-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW  
(4)



*send sent to CIA  
by info*

54 DEC 5 1967

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

6 NOV 2 1967



SUMMARY FROM SPANISH

From "Boletin de Informacion para el Exterior" (Bulletin of Information for Foreign Countries), published by the Brazilian Communist Party, Foreign Relations Section of the Central Committee, July, 1967 issue. BRAZIL

The first nine pages of the Bulletin are entitled:

"The International Situation  
and the Tasks of Our Party."

This article, according to a few words of introduction, is an outline of the main theses and ideas formulated by the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party in June, 1966, and applied to the present situation and "our revolutionary activity."

In the first point, it is stressed that imperialism is showing greater and greater aggressiveness. Imperialism, it is said, is threatening to extend local wars of aggression and to transform them into nuclear world wars.

The article goes on to point out (point number 2) that humanity is marching toward socialism. This is the cause for the basic contradiction affecting mankind (point number 3) and pitting socialism against capitalism.

The world socialist system is the main revolutionary force and constitutes the "solid platform" on which the various nations of the world struggle for peace, democracy, emancipation and socialism (point number 4). Socialism relies on the "strength of the example" as embodied by the USSR.

The firm peace policies of the Soviet Union are in sharp contrast with the reactionary and aggressive policies of imperialism. The basic elements of the peace policies of the Soviet Union were confirmed in the resolutions passed by the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in 1966.

100-428091-6562  
ENCLOSURE

Imperialism is in a state of progressive decay and is no longer able to cope with national liberation struggles (point number 6). The decomposition of imperialism is further aggravated by the contradiction between imperialist powers and within each imperialist power (point number 7).

This is bringing about a greater aggressiveness of imperialism due to despair (point number 8).

Point number 9 discusses the aggressiveness of imperialism and the divergencies in communist ranks. It is stated that despite greater aggressiveness on the part of imperialism, it has been more difficult to reply to it in kind due to the lack of unity in communist ranks. For the first time in the history of the international communist movement, serious internal divergencies have arisen and become aggravated to such an extent that they prevent a joint action, while weakening the action of the individual nations. The Brazilian Communist Party does not subscribe to the "general line" advocated by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. This line is in open contrast with the orientation which was collectively worked out and stated in the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960.

The Brazilian Communist Party condemns any interference with the internal affairs of other communist parties. The so-called "cultural revolution" of the Communist Party of China reflects a sectarian and nihilist position which undermines Marxism-Leninism.

Except for Cuba, all the countries of Latin America are in extremely critical conditions because of the growing poverty of the masses of their populations.

The struggle against these conditions must be conducted through strikes, workers' and students' demonstrations, land occupation and guerrilla warfare (as is now happening in Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala and Peru). The Cuban Revolution sets the example, but this Revolution needs the solidarity of all progressive forces of Latin America.

Yankee imperialism tried to counteract the new forces in Latin America by launching its "Alliance for Progress." The objective of the Alliance is to isolate the Cuban Revolution as a preliminary step to contain the revolutionary wave which is sweeping Latin America. Whenever the Alliance for Progress fails, Yankee imperialism uses brute force, as witness the "coups d'etat" staged in various Latin American countries recently.

In order to justify the use of force on an international basis, the Yankees are striving to create an "Inter-American Peace Force" whose end result would be a transformation of the Organization of American States into a military pact like NATO.

The progressive forces of Latin America need to strengthen their unity and solidarity in the face of the open threat of imperialist aggressiveness.

Unfortunately, there is a lack of unity in the leftist camp. For example, the Organization for Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) is not carrying out the resolutions passed by the Havana Conference.

Under the circumstances, the following are the tasks for "the entire Party:"

- 1) Solidarity with the Vietnamese People.
- 2) Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.
- 3) Firm Support for the Resolutions of the Havana Tricontinental Conference.
- 4) Constant Struggle for Cohesion and Unity of the International Communist Movement.
- 5) Solidarity and Unity of Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin America. (This includes solidarity with the Communist Party of the United States and with the Communist Party of Portugal.)
- 6) Struggle for the Application of the Political Line and Tactic of our Party.

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The remaining articles deal with internal situations and events. They do not appear to contain any items of specific interest. The following is a translation of the table of contents:

- The Antilabor Policies of the Dictatorship Continue Under the Costa e Silva Administration.
- The Working Class Commemorates May Day.

- Students Struggle in the Street Against Dictatorship and Imperialism.
- Our Solidarity with the Guerrilla Fighters of Caparao (a small band of guerrillas was captured at Caparao and this short article calls for solidarity with them and their families, clamoring for the release of political prisoners.)
- Defending Cuba is the Duty of All Communists and Democratically-Minded People.

# BOLETIN DE INFORMACION PARA EL EXTERIOR

PARTIDO COMUNISTA BRASILEÑO

EN ESTE NUMERO:

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## LA SITUACION INTERNACIONAL Y LAS TAREAS DE NUESTRO PARTIDO

En su reunión de marzo último, el Comité Central de nuestro Partido realizó una discusión específica sobre la situación internacional, convencido de que una justa comprensión de los problemas mundiales contemporáneos y una visión correcta del sentido en que la situación se desarrolla constituyen premisas indispensables en el fundamento de la línea política trazada por el CC en sus resoluciones de mayo de 1965 y junio de 1966 y, en consecuencia, a su acertada aplicación en nuestra actividad revolucionaria.

La Resolución sobre la situación internacional es uno de los documentos más importantes de nuestro Partido. Por eso mismo, debe merecer la atención y el estudio por parte de todos sus militantes, sin lo cual el conjunto del Partido no podrá crear las condiciones necesarias a las aplicaciones de las tareas específicas determinadas por el Comité Central. Con objeto de facilitar este estudio, a continuación presentamos, de manera esquemática, las primeras tesis e ideas formuladas y fundamentadas por el Comité Central en la referida resolución, juntamente con las tareas que de ello se desprenden:

### 1 — MAYOR AGRESIVIDADE DEL IMPERIALISMO

— En el momento presente, la conyuntura internacional está marcada por la creciente agresividad de los imperialistas, de los norte americanos en particular. La violencia cada día mayor con que los gobernantes de Washington hacen la guerra contra el pueblo del Vietnam y agride a la República Democrática del Vietnam constituye gravísima amenaza para la paz mundial y a la seguridad de los pueblos. La situación internacional se hace cada vez más tensa.

— Los hechos comprueban que la naturaleza del imperialismo no mudó. El imperialismo no conoce otras relaciones entre los Estados como no sean las de dominación y sumisión, las de la opresión del débil por el fuerte. Basándose las relaciones internacionales en la amenaza, la violencia y la arbi-

trariedad, el imperialismo constituye, mientras exista, una constante amenaza para la paz mundial.

— El imperialismo mantiene latente el peligro de extender las guerras locales de agresión y convertirlas en una guerra mundial que no podrá dejar de ser una catástrofe termonuclear, mucho más devastadora que las guerras mundiales anteriores.

### 2 — LA HUMANIDAD MARCHA PARA EL SOCIALISMO

— La agresividad del imperialismo no consigue enmascarar el hecho de que la dirección principal del desarrollo histórico está determinada, en la época contemporánea, por el sistema socialista mundial y por las fuerzas que luchan contra el imperialismo, por la transformación socialista de la sociedad y que se mantiene en constante ofensiva. Vivimos la época del paso revolucionario de toda la humanidad del capitalismo a socialismo.

— El imperialismo no consiguió hasta ahora desencadenar la tercera guerra mundial ni impedir el avance del socialismo. Así como la lucha de los pueblos contra el colonialismo, por la libertad nacional y por el progreso social.

— Los hechos confirman que, en el campo mundial, el sistema socialista constituye, cada vez más, el factor decisivo del desarrollo de la sociedad humana.

— Contra la política agresiva y de provocación de guerra del imperialismo se levanta, victoriosa, la estrategia de la lucha por la paz, por la coexistencia pacífica practicada por la Unión Soviética y otros países socialistas con el apoyo de todos los pueblos amantes de la paz. La lucha por la paz constituye una de las formas más importantes de la lucha de los pueblos contra el imperialismo, refleja los intereses vitales de la clase obrera, de todos los trabajadores.

— La correlación de fuerzas en el campo mundial no se modificó a favor del imperialismo. La situación internacional se desenvuelve favorablemente para los pueblos que luchan por la emancipación nacional, el progreso, la paz y el socialismo.

### 3 — SOCIALISMO CONTRA CAPITALISMO: EXPRESIÓN DE LA CONTRADICCIÓN FUNDAMENTAL

— A partir de 1917, con la victoria de la Gran Revolución Socialista de Octubre, la mayor revolución de todos los tiempos, fue inaugurada una nueva época en la historia de la humanidad. A partir de ese momento, la lucha entre los dos sistemas sociales opuestos fue la nueva y más concentrada expresión de la contradicción fundamental entre el trabajo y el capital.

— La idea de que la contradicción entre el socialismo y el capitalismo sirve de base al desarrollo mundial contemporáneo fue claramente expuesta por Lenin en 1920: "...las relaciones recíprocas de los pueblos y todo el sistema político mundial son determinadas por la lucha de un pequeño grupo de naciones imperialistas contra el movimiento soviético y los Estados soviéticos, al frente de los cuales se encuentra la Rusia Soviética. Si perdemos esto de vista, no podremos colocar acertadamente ningún problema nacional o colonial, incluso aunque se trate del lugar más distante del mundo. Las cuestiones políticas solo pueden ser colocadas y resueltas con acierto por los partidos comunistas, tanto en los países civilizados como en los atrasados, partiendo de este punto de vista."

— Esta tesis básica del marxismo-leninismo viene siendo negada últimamente por aquellos que quieren ver, en las luchas nacional-libertadoras de los pueblos de Asia, África y América Latina, la fuerza principal y más importante que asesta el golpe directo al imperialismo. No debemos confundir lo que se puede denominar el eslabón más débil de la cadena imperialista con la contradicción principal en el mundo contemporáneo.

— Las revoluciones nacional-libertadoras son parte integrante de la revolución socialista mundial y sólo podrán ser consecuentes bajo la dirección internacional del proletariado. Negar esa dirección es negar la necesidad de la hegemonía del proletariado en la revolución, es capitular ante el nacionalismo burgués.

### 4 — EL SISTEMA SOCIALISTA MUNDIAL, PRINCIPAL FUERZA REVOLUCIONARIA

— El sistema socialista mundial constituye la mayor conquista histórica de la clase obrera

internacional, es la fuerza principal revolucionaria de nuestra época y la base segura de todos los pueblos que luchan por la paz, la democracia, la emancipación nacional y el socialismo. Contando con el poderío creciente de la Unión Soviética, el sistema mundial del socialismo se hace cada vez más fuerte, aumenta su prestigio internacional y su influencia en los destinos de la humanidad.

— Es creciente la influencia internacional de la Unión Soviética y de todo el sistema socialista mundial, siendo cada vez mayor el número de pueblos que se vuelven para el socialismo. Para ello, constituye factor decisivo la política externa leninista del Estado soviético, política de defensa de la paz, de lucha por la coexistencia pacífica entre Estados de regímenes sociales diferentes y de apoyo moral, político y material a todos los pueblos que luchan por la emancipación nacional y por el progreso social.

#### La fuerza del ejemplo

— No podemos dejar de saludar los éxitos alcanzados por los países del campo socialista en el terreno de la economía y, particularmente, los éxitos de la Unión Soviética en la construcción del comunismo. Es completamente falso querer ver, en el continuado ascenso del nivel de vida de la URSS y demás países socialistas, una tendencia al aburguesamiento, perjudicial — como llegan a decir los dirigentes chinos — a la revolución y a los pueblos de los países más atrasados. Para la Unión Soviética y para los demás países socialistas, la lucha por esos éxitos es un deber internacionalista, ya que ellos constituyen una forma importante de participación activa en la lucha contra el imperialismo y la agresión, un factor decisivo en el continuo ascenso y reforzamiento del proceso revolucionario mundial.

— "La fuerza del ejemplo de la clase obrera triunfante, que marcha por el camino del socialismo y del comunismo, dijo el camarada Kossiguin en el XXIII Congreso del PCUS, es uno de los factores más importantes que contribuyen para el avance del proceso revolucionario mundial. Podemos decir con fundamento que nuestros planes económicos y los éxitos alcanzados son los mejores agitadores y los mejores propagandistas del socialismo y del comunismo entre las masas de millones de trabajadores de todos los países del mundo".

### Coexistencia pacífica y lucha de clases

— La firme política de paz de la Unión Soviética contrasta vivamente con la política reaccionaria y agresiva del imperialismo, haciendo que se desmoronen las tentativas del imperialismo en el sentido de engañar a los pueblos con la pretendida amenaza de una agresión soviética y "fantasmas" semejantes.

— Los elementos básicos de esa política de paz fueron reafirmados en las resoluciones del XXIII Congreso del PCUS, realizado en 1966. "La política externa del Estado soviético —se dice en la resolución principal— tiene por objeto asegurar, conjuntamente con otros países socialistas, condiciones internacionales favorables para construir el socialismo y el comunismo; fortalecer la unidad y cohesión de los países socialistas, su amistad y fraternidad; prestar apoyo a los movimientos de liberación nacional y colaborar en todos los terrenos con los jóvenes Estados emergentes; defender consecuentemente el principio de la coexistencia pacífica de las naciones con diferentes regímenes sociales, dar una debida réplica a las fuerzas agresivas del imperialismo y liberar el género humano de una guerra mundial".

— Viendo en la coexistencia pacífica una necesidad objetiva y una forma de lucha de clases, los dirigentes soviéticos hicieron uso de la tribuna del XXIII Congreso para, por medio de la palabra del camarada Brejnev, dar la necesaria precisión al concepto: "No puede haber coexistencia pacífica cuando se trata de procesos internos de la lucha de clases y de liberación nacional respectivamente en los países capitalistas y en las colonias. El principio de la coexistencia pacífica es inaplicable en las relaciones entre los opresores y los oprimidos, entre los colonialistas y las víctimas del yugo colonial".

### 5.— EL IMPERIALISMO NO TIENE FUTURO.

— Los acontecimientos mundiales confirman, día a día, la tesis de que el capitalismo monopolista, el imperialismo, marcha para el ocaso histórico.

— La crisis general del capitalismo se hace más profunda y los hechos hacen cada vez más evidentes las peculiaridades de la tercera etapa de la crisis general del capitalismo, como fueron definidas por el movimiento comunista internacional en la Declaración de 1960.

— Dice aquel documento: "Lo peculiar de

esta etapa está en que no surgió vinculada a una guerra mundial, sino en una situación de emulación y lucha entre los dos sistemas, en que la correlación de fuerzas se modifica cada vez más a favor del socialismo, todas las contradicciones del imperialismo se agudizan bruscamente y la lucha de las fuerzas pacíficas por la realización y consolidación de la coexistencia pacífica no permitió a los imperialistas frustrar, con sus acciones agresivas, la paz general; surgió una situación de ascenso de la lucha de las amplias masas populares por la democracia, la liberación nacional y el socialismo".

### 6.— LA DESCOMPOSICION DEL IMPERIALISMO Y LA LUCHA DE LIBERACION NACIONAL

— Para la decadencia y descomposición del imperialismo, han contribuido fundamentalmente la grandiosa lucha nacional liberadora de los pueblos que, en número cada vez mayor, en Asia, Africa y América Latina se liberan del yugo colonialista del capitalismo y constituyen nuevos Estados soberanos, que toman parte activa en la política internacional.

— Además de los cuarenta nuevos Estados que surgieron en Asia y Africa hasta 1960, en los años siguientes 17 nuevos Estados conquistaron la independencia política, mereciendo destacar la importancia histórica de la victoria del pueblo cubano, que irguió con éxito, en pleno continente americano, la bandera de la construcción de la nueva sociedad socialista.

— Algunos de esos nuevos Estados van realizando transformaciones económico-sociales de carácter avanzado y tienden, así, a separarse del sistema capitalista mundial. Emprenden el camino del desarrollo no-capitalista en las transformaciones democrático-revolucionarias que conducen al socialismo.

— Se estrecha cada vez más la esfera de dominio del imperialismo, reflejándose, incluso, en la ONU, donde se modifica la correlación de fuerzas, haciendo cada vez más difícil su utilización por las grandes potencias imperialistas como cobertura política para sus actos reaccionarios y agresivos.

### 7.— SE AGUDIZAN LAS CONTRADICCIONES INTERIMPERIALISTAS

— A medida que se reduce la esfera de dominación del imperialismo, se manifiestan con más fuerza las contradicciones entre las potencias imperialistas.



— Contrariamente a los primeros años de la posguerra, cuando los monopolios norteamericanos tenían una posición de predominio absoluto sobre sus concurrentes debilitados por la guerra, ahora enfrentan rivales que se hacen cada vez más fuertes, como Francia, Alemania Occidental e, incluso, Japón.

— Como consecuencia de esas crecientes contradicciones interimperialistas, tienden a desagregarse los bloques políticos y militares imperialistas, como ya sucedió con la NATO, de la que expresamente se separa el gobierno de De Gaulle.

### 8 — MAYOR AGRESIVIDAD ES DESESPERACION

— La creciente agresividad del imperialismo no refleja, de ninguna manera, cualquier modificación a su favor de la correlación de fuerzas en el campo internacional. Lo que sucede es que, ante las fuerzas crecientes del campo socialista mundial y del continuo ascenso de la lucha de liberación y del movimiento obrero, el imperialismo hace esfuerzos desesperados para detener ese proceso.

— Pone en práctica la "doctrina Johnson" de intervención en los asuntos internos de otros pueblos, según la cual el gobierno de los Estados Unidos tiene un supuesto "derecho" para imponer el orden en cualquier país donde, según opinión de los servicios secretos del imperialismo yanqui, las autoridades hayan perdido el control de la situación.

— Semejante política aísla cada vez más al gobierno imperialista de los Estados Unidos. Sin embargo, no se puede subestimar la fuerza del imperialismo, ni mucho menos concordar que sea un "tigre de papel". Es un enemigo que dispone de todos los recursos de la técnica moderna, que todavía cuenta con poderosas reservas y que, para mantener su dominación, está dispuesto a luchas hasta el fin y, será capaz de los mayores crímenes.

— Con su política agresiva, sin embargo, jamás conseguirá el imperialismo éxitos duraderos, ni resolverá sus problemas.

### 9 — LA AGRESIVIDAD DEL IMPERIALISMO Y LAS DIVERGENCIAS EN LAS FILAS COMUNISTAS

— Si ahora la agresividad del imperialismo creció y se hizo más difícil darle la necesaria respuesta, se debe, en gran parte, al

hecho de que no hay unidad en las filas comunistas. Por primera vez en la historia del movimiento comunista internacional, se agravaron serias divergencias internas, que se reflejan negativamente en su acción común, obstaculizándola e incluso debilitándola.

— Nuestro Partido, como sucede con la gran mayoría del movimiento comunista internacional, no concuerda con la "línea general" defendida por los dirigentes del Partido Comunista de China. Esa "línea general" se enfrenta, en cuestiones importantes, con la orientación elaborada colectivamente y expresada en las Declaraciones de Moscú de 1957 y 1960.

— Tales divergencias no deberían, sin embargo, conducir al debilitamiento de la solidaridad entre los partidos marxistas-leninistas ni a la división del sistema mundial del socialismo y del movimiento comunista y obrero mundial.

### *Intervención en los asuntos de otros Partidos*

— Los dirigentes chinos pretenden, sin embargo, imponer su "línea general", que se opone a la esencia de las Declaraciones aprobadas por el movimiento comunista internacional, interviniendo de manera grosera en la vida interna de otros partidos, atribuyéndose el derecho de juzgar y orientar su actividad. Este es el sentido de sus ataques a lo que denominan "revisionismo contemporáneo" y de los persistentes insultos dirigidos al PCUS y a otros partidos hermanos.

— Los dirigentes chinos insisten en imponer su "línea general" a los demás partidos comunistas y obreros y se niegan a la acción unida en la lucha contra el imperialismo.

### *Revolución cultural*

— Tomando tan extraño camino, los dirigentes chinos llegaron a lo que ahora denominan "revolución cultural proletaria", en nombre de la cual intensifican sus ataques a la Unión Soviética, al PCUS y a otros partidos que se oponen a su "línea general".

— Juzgamos innecesario mostrar que esa pretendida "revolución cultural", que con el pretexto de combatir los restos del capitalismo procura eliminar toda una herencia cultural, refleja una posición izquierdista sectaria y nihilista, que rompe el marxismo-leninismo. Sólo puede contribuir, como de hecho contribuye, para desprestigiar el marxismo y el comunismo entre las grandes masas populares.

## 10 — La lucha de los pueblos latinoamericanos

— A excepción de lo que pasa en Cuba, la situación en todos los países de América Latina se caracteriza por la creciente miseria de las masas de millones de su población. En mayor o menor grado, en todos los países latinoamericanos se desarrolla el capitalismo. Pero ese desarrollo tropieza con la dominación imperialista y con la estructura agraria atrasada, basada en el latifundio semi-feudal, lo que lleva a interrupciones y retrocesos en el ritmo de desarrollo y a un proceso inflacionario, a través del cual todas las dificultades financieras son descargadas en las costillas de las grandes masas trabajadoras, cuya explotación aumenta y alcanza proporciones verdaderamente deshumanas.

— Contra la miseria, el atraso y la ignorancia es por lo que luchan todos los pueblos de América Latina. Según las condiciones concretas de cada país y el nivel ya alcanzado por sus fuerzas revolucionarias, se desarrollan y crecen las luchas populares y patrióticas por la democracia, la independencia nacional y el progreso social.

### Formas de lucha

— En esas luchas, las fuerzas democráticas y patrióticas utilizan, cada vez más ampliamente, las más diversas formas de lucha de masas, desde las huelgas, manifestaciones obreras y estudiantiles, ocupación de terrenos en la ciudad por los que no tienen donde dormir y en los latifundios por los trabajadores del campo, hasta acciones guerrilleras, como viene sucediendo en algunos países como, por ejemplo, en Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala y Perú.

## II — El ejemplo de la revolución cubana

— Para el aumento de las luchas populares y patrióticas en toda América Latina contribuye decisivamente el ejemplo del pueblo cubano, cuya revolución victoriosa mostró que es posible derrotar al enemigo imperialista y sus agentes internos en los países de América Latina y colocó, delante de todos nosotros, como posibilidad real, la construcción de la nueva sociedad socialista en el Continente americano.

— La construcción del socialismo en Cuba constituye la mayor conquista de la clase obrera y de los pueblos de América Latina.

## Solidaridad

— Las grandes conquistas de la revolución cubana continúan, aunque bajo constante amenaza.

— Desarrollar la solidaridad a la revolución cubana y el apoyo al gobierno de Cuba socialista, es un deber de todas las fuerzas revolucionarias de América Latina. Al defender la revolución cubana, los comunistas y los pueblos latinoamericanos defienden su mayor conquista, defienden sus propios intereses, las libertades, la dignidad y el futuro de nuestros propios pueblos.

## 12 — Los imperialistas yanquis y América Latina

— Con el aumento de las luchas de masas en toda América Latina y, muy especialmente, con la victoria de la revolución cubana, los imperialistas yanquis enfrentan una nueva situación que amenaza su dominación y los intereses de los monopolios norteamericanos.

— Para enfrentar esa situación, el gobierno de Washington procuró adoptar una nueva táctica y utilizar en mayor escala su vieja y ya desmoralizada política de "ayuda". Por eso surgió la "Alianza para el Progreso".

### Objetivos de la Alianza

— Sus objetivos fueron expuestos francamente y consistían, principalmente, en aislar la revolución cubana para, en seguida, apasentarla, detener la onda revolucionaria en América Latina por medio de reformas y de la creación de estructuras sociales y políticas más estables, entregando el poder a una burguesía con cierta base de masas, contribuir en esta situación para un cierto progreso económico y la elevación del nivel de vida de la población. Todo ello, no obstante, sin herir los intereses de los monopolios yanquis, sino al contrario, garantizándoles y facilitándoles una mayor explotación de los pueblos latinoamericanos.

### Uso de la fuerza

— Pero al mismo tiempo, la política del gobierno de Washington en América Latina es abiertamente agresiva e intervencionista. Se suceden los golpes militares reaccionarios dirigidos desde Washington y se llega al extremo de la ocupación militar, como sucedió en Santo Domingo.

— Ante el continuo ascenso del movimiento de masas y revolucionario en América Latina

na, el imperialismo yanqui, bajo el pretexto de contener el avance del comunismo —en realidad, de los movimientos revolucionarios nacional-libertadores o movimientos democráticos simplemente—, dio nuevos pasos en el sentido de una política de intervención armada directa en los países latinoamericanos.

### 13 — La Fuerza Interamericana de Paz

— El gobierno de Washington procura dar un carácter colectivo a esa política de intervención armada, valiéndose, para ello, de la connivencia de gobiernos lacayos, como la dictadura brasileña.

— Por eso, el gobierno norteamericano lucha por la constitución de la llamada "Fuerza Interamericana de Paz", así como para la transformación de la OEA en pacto político-militar a semejanza de la NATO.

— Para justificar la política norteamericana de intervención en los asuntos internos de los pueblos de América Latina, son ampliamente difundidas "teorías" como la de las "fronteras ideológicas" en sustitución de las fronteras geográficas, como la del nuevo concepto para la soberanía nacional, que justifica la dependencia a los Estados Unidos con el pretexto de la llamada política de "interdependencia", como la de la sustitución de las fuerzas armadas nacionales de cada país por una fuerza armada colectiva, bajo la hegemonía de los Estados Unidos.

### 14 — Reforzar la unidad y la solidaridad de los pueblos latinoamericanos.

— A semejante amenaza, los pueblos latinoamericanos deben responder unificando su actividad y solidaridad a todos los movimientos contra el imperialismo y por el progreso social.

— Las diferencias respecto al nivel de desarrollo económico, de tradiciones y nivel de organización y de conciencia de las masas populares y de las fuerzas revolucionarias en los diversos países de América Latina, son grandes. Sin embargo, todos enfrentan el mismo enemigo principal, el imperialismo, y contra él deben y pueden unir sus fuerzas.

— La Conferencia de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Asia, Africa y América Latina demostró cómo, a pesar de las divergencias existentes, es posible llegar a conclusiones prácticas para unir las fuerzas anticolonialistas y elevar la solidaridad de los pueblos agredidos y combatientes a la altura de una tarea internacionalista permanente.

### 15 — Las OLAS no respetan las decisiones de la Conferencia de Habana

— Cuando acabaron los trabajos de la Conferencia Tricontinental, fue constituida una nueva organización que recibió el nombre de "Organización Latino-Americana de Solidaridad" (OLAS), con la función específica de coordinar y poner en práctica las resoluciones y recomendaciones de la Conferencia, en lo que atañe a los países de América Latina.

— Esa organización, en sus comunicados y declaraciones, se ha manifestado sistemáticamente como si la lucha armada fuera la única forma de lucha revolucionaria, lo que está en desacuerdo con las propias recomendaciones de la Conferencia Tricontinental, que se refieren a "todas las formas de lucha, conforme las condiciones concretas específicas de cada país".

— Sus comunicados chocan, en general, con la línea política de nuestro Partido y no pueden, por eso, contar con nuestro apoyo. En las condiciones en que se desenvuelve la actividad del Comité dirigente de la OLAS, que viene procurando dictar directrices al movimiento revolucionario de los diversos países por encima de los respectivos partidos marxistas-leninistas nacionales, no será fácil, ni seguramente posible, la colaboración independiente de un representante de nuestro Partido.

### 16 — Tareas para todo el Partido

— Del análisis de la situación internacional se desprenden las siguientes tareas principales de nuestro Partido:

I — La solidaridad al pueblo vietnamita es un deber internacionalista y, en el momento actual, la manera efectiva de contribuir para la defensa de la paz mundial. Reconociendo la deficiencia de nuestra actividad en ese terreno, tenemos el deber de tomar las medidas prácticas para desarrollar en nuestro país la solidaridad con el pueblo vietnamita. Debe ser designada una comisión responsable para planificar una campaña de lucha contra la guerra del Vietnam, relacionándola con todas las actividades de las masas populares brasileñas en su lucha contra el imperialismo, contra la dictadura, por las libertades democráticas y por la paz mundial.

II — La solidaridad a la revolución cubana, que es un deber internacionalista y de solidaridad a los pueblos hermanos de América Latina, es igualmente la manera efectiva de defender nuestros propios intereses,

las libertades, la dignidad y el futuro de nuestro pueblo.

— La solidaridad a la primera revolución socialista victoriosa en nuestro continente y al gobierno que construye en América la sociedad socialista, es ahora más importante que nunca.

— Es nuestro deber tomar todas las medidas para impulsar en nuestro país un amplio movimiento de solidaridad a la revolución cubana, ejemplo y estímulo para la lucha revolucionaria de todos los pueblos de América Latina.

III. — Apoyando firmemente las justas resoluciones de la Conferencia Tricontinental de Habana, debemos colocar, como nuestra tarea fundamental, intensificar la lucha contra el imperialismo, el colonialismo y el neocolonialismo, por la conquista de la independencia nacional, en solidaridad y apoyo a todos los pueblos que luchan contra el imperialismo.

Actualmente tiene particular importancia la lucha unida de los pueblos latinoamericanos contra la OEA y contra su política de intervención en los asuntos internos de los pueblos latinoamericanos, contra la constitución de la llamada «Fuerza Interamericana de Paz» y sus disfraces, como la Junta Militar de la OEA y contra la corrida armamentista.

Debemos desenmascarar los conceptos difundidos por el imperialismo yanqui y sus agentes en nuestro país con respecto a la "soberanía nacional", "fronteras ideológicas", etc., así como del contenido reaccionario y opresor de la "ayuda" norteamericana, de la "Alianza para el Progreso" y de la política económico-financiera dictada por el Fondo Monetario Internacional.

Es nuestro deber estimular iniciativas en el sentido de la unidad latinoamericana en el terreno sindical, en el de la lucha por las reivindicaciones de las grandes masas de trabajadores del campo, así como por la unidad estudiantil, de los intelectuales y de las mujeres.

Es un deber desarrollar amplia campaña de solidaridad a todos los perseguidos, presos y condenados políticos en los diversos países de América Latina.

IV. — Nuestro Partido continuará la lucha por la cohesión y unidad del movimiento comunista internacional, con base en los principios del marxismo-leninismo y del internacionalismo proletario.

Consideramos inadmisibles que se invoquen discrepancias en el movimiento comunista mundial para pretender justificar su negación a la unidad de acción en la lucha

contra el agresor imperialista, muy especialmente en solidaridad y apoyo a la lucha heroica del pueblo vietnamita contra la agresión de los Estados Unidos.

Condenamos, por eso, la actitud divisionista de los dirigentes chinos.

Nuestro Partido concuerda con la realización de una nueva conferencia de los Partidos Comunistas y Obreros, que tenga como objetivo examinar la situación internacional y la línea de acción común, así como reforzar la unidad del movimiento comunista internacional.

V. — La solidaridad y unidad de acción de los Partidos Comunistas y Obreros de América Latina es indispensable para el desarrollo, con éxito, de la acción unida de las fuerzas y organizaciones revolucionarias del Continente.

Como fue decidido en la Conferencia realizada en diciembre de 1964 de todos los partidos marxistas-leninistas de América Latina, la unidad y solidaridad de los referidos partidos tienen por base el respeto mutuo y el reconocimiento de la independencia de cada partido para decidir, en su propio país, la táctica que propone a las fuerzas revolucionarias nacionales, de acuerdo con las condiciones particulares en que se desarrolla el proceso revolucionario.

Para todos los partidos marxistas-leninistas de América Latina, la unidad de cada partido es vista como condición indispensable para la realización de sus tareas revolucionarias. En estas condiciones, la actividad fraccionista en determinado partido, cualquiera que sea su índole o procedencia, debe ser categóricamente rechazada y combatida por los partidos hermanos.

Nuestro Partido debe tomar la iniciativa de realizar encuentros bilaterales y multilaterales con los demás partidos comunistas y obreros de América Latina, con el Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos y con el Partido Comunista Portugués.

VI. — La lucha por la aplicación de la línea política y la táctica de nuestro Partido, por la realización de sus tareas revolucionarias internas, es inseparable de la lucha por la realización de sus tareas de carácter internacional.

La justa apreciación de la situación mundial, de la correlación de fuerzas en el campo internacional, es indispensable para

la correcta comprensión y exacta apreciación de la importancia de la lucha que mantenemos contra la dictadura, por las libertades democráticas, por la completa emancipación nacional y por el progreso social. Intensificando la lucha contra la dictadura

reaccionaria y militar, instrumento del imperialismo norteamericano, daremos nuestra mayor contribución a la lucha por la paz mundial, a la lucha mundial contra el imperialismo y por la victoria del socialismo y del comunismo en el mundo entero

## LA POLÍTICA ANTIOBRERA DE LA DICTADURA CONTINUA CON EL GOBIERNO DE COSTA E SILVA

El gobierno Costa e Silva aprovechó el 1.º de Mayo para intensificar su demagogia con relación a la clase obrera y a todos los trabajadores. Divulgó, a propósito de este día, un Mensaje. Y el primer ministro, Pasariño, recorrió algunas ciudades de San Pablo, organizando reuniones con dirigentes sindicales, reafirmando la "reapertura del diálogo" y renovando promesas. Se refirió, principalmente, a la abolición del atestado de ideología y de una nueva política sa-

larial.

Sin embargo, he aquí los hechos: pocos días después del 1.º de Mayo, la prensa informaba que el comando de la 8a. Región Militar, en Pará, simple y puramente había vetado las tres candidaturas que concurrían a las elecciones para la dirección del Sindicato de Periodistas de aquel Estado. Así, tenemos una restricción más a la libertad sindical; el veto militar. Es el poder militar, que desciende de sus alturas para decidir directamente quién puede o quién no puede participar de la dirección de los Sindicatos de trabajadores.

¿En qué se resume la anunciada abolición del atestado de ideología? El propio ministro Pasariño responde a esta pregunta. Dice que la medida va a ser adoptada cuando termine el estudio de "otra fórmula", capaz de impedir que los "subversivos" vuelvan a las direcciones sindicales. Apenas se trata, como se ve, de substituir una fórmula por otra. El ministro no promete, en verdad, abolir el estado de ideología, sino mantenerlo con otro nombre. Mantenerlo bajo un disfraz. Y pretende continuar así tutelando los Sindicatos, impedir que los trabajadores puedan ejercer el derecho de elegir libremente sus directivos.

Es conocido el concepto que la dictadura tiene de "subversión" y "subversivos". Los IPMs dan una idea bastante clara al respecto. La discriminación alcanza a todos los trabajadores que, al frente de los Sindi-

catos, sean capaces de orientarlos en el sentido de la lucha efectiva en defensa de los intereses y derechos de sus asociados. Ahí está la cuestión.

El gobierno Costa e Silva, por el mismo camino que el gobierno de Castelo Branco, no quiere permitir que los Sindicatos cumplan su verdadero papel de órganos de clase, de instrumento de lucha de los trabajadores por sus reivindicaciones. Pretende transformarlos en entidades meramente recreativas y asistenciales, encargadas de distribuir bolsas de estudio y cosas semejantes. En el mismo Mensaje a que nos referimos al principio, Costa e Silva afirmó que "este es un primero de mayo con un nuevo sentido que la revolución le prestó... una fiesta de confraternización entre el Capital y el Trabajo... sin ser, doctrinados los más pobres en nombre de los odios de clase".

Como se ve, es la negación del verdadero significado del 1.º de Mayo; en el cual los trabajadores del mundo entero recuerdan el pasado heroico de luchas de la clase obrera contra la explotación capitalista, conmemoran los grandes éxitos ya alcanzados en esas luchas y reafirman su decisión de proseguir hasta la victoria final. Pero el nuevo sentido que la "revolución" quiere imprimir a este día es el de la "confraternización" entre capital y trabajo. Y el nuevo sentido que quiere imprimir al movimiento sindical es el de la colaboración entre el trabajo y el capital.

Una de las principales finalidades del régimen instituido por los golpistas de abril es el de asegurar e intensificar la explotación de la clase obrera y de las masas trabajadoras. Y la dictadura militar pretende que los trabajadores "colaboren", que consentan en ser cada vez más explotados...

En 1965, la inflación prevista por el gobierno era de 25%, pero alcanzó el 45%. En 1966, la previsión era de 10%, pero la inflación fue del 40%. Estos datos

muestran que la política salarial de la dictadura conduce a una verdadera confiscación de los salarios.

La máquina que intensifica la explotación de la clase obrera y de todos los trabajadores continúa montada y funcionando. Los reajustes salariales deben ser inferiores a la elevación del costo de vida. El poder ejecutivo continúa controlando la publicación de los índices de precios, lo que quiere decir que continúa presentando índices inferiores a la realidad. Lo mismo ocurre, como se dijo, con relación al residuo inflacionario, y ni siquiera la Justicia del Trabajo, en las disidencias colectivas, puede fijar libremente los reajustes salariales, porque debe limitarse a aplicar los criterios fijados por las leyes de la dictadura, es decir, hacer los cálculos de acuerdo con la fórmula y los índices del gobierno.

La política salarial no muda, sino que continúa y, como el mismo gobierno Costa e Silva se presenta, es una continuación de la "revolución", una continuación del gobierno Castelo Branco. Se trata de una nueva fase: antes era la fase de imposición del nuevo régimen fascista, antiobrero, antinacional y ahora es la fase de consolidación del mismo régimen. No viene al caso analizar, en este comentario, todos los aspectos de la situación actual, sino solamente señalar que existe un cambio de métodos. El llamado "culto a la impopularidad" de Castelo Branco es sustituido por la demagogia de Costa e Silva y, por consiguiente, la propalada "apertura del diálogo" con los trabajadores.

Es indispensable desenmascarar la demagogia de Costa e Silva y de su ministro de Trabajo, mostrando hasta dónde quedan reducidas sus promesas y en qué consiste la política de salarios que viene siendo puesta en práctica, precisamente porque la ofensiva contra los derechos de los trabajadores continúa. Bajo el pretexto del combate a la "inflación de costos" se está preparando un nuevo golpe contra el salario de los obreros. Los ideólogos de la burguesía ya proclaman que las consecuencias de lo que llaman recesión económica son mayores en Brasil porque el capitalista se ve obligado a pagar los salarios aunque no haya trabajo para sus obreros. Defienden el punto de vista de que, disminuyendo la demanda, disminuyendo las compras, los patronos reducen la producción, pero la legislación laboral les obliga a seguir pagando los mismos salarios mensuales; por esto, los costos de producción, al revés de reducirse proporcio-

nalmente, aumentan. Como consecuencia, pretenden alterar la legislación laboral de tal forma que pasen a pagar a los obreros solamente los días en que la empresa resulte funcionar. De esta forma quieren combatir la inflación, descargando sobre los hombros de la clase obrera un peso todavía mayor. Quieren una caída más acentuada del salario real.

Desenmascarando la demagogia del gobierno en forma de deshacer cualquier ilusión de que Costa e Silva vaya espontáneamente a mudar de política, el mismo tiempo se debe saber utilizar la llamada apertura del diálogo para que los trabajadores intensifiquen sus luchas. ¿El gobierno quiere que los trabajadores hablen? Muy bien. Los trabajadores nunca prefirieron callarse... Se trata, entonces, de actuar en los Sindicatos para que ellos manifiesten los puntos de vista de los trabajadores, levanten sus reivindicaciones, contra las leyes estrujadoras, por el restablecimiento y mejora del nivel de vida, por el derecho de huelga, por la libertad y autonomía sindical contra cualquier ingerencia del Ministerio del Trabajo y de la policía, por la efectiva abolición del atestado de ideología. Es más, las conmemoraciones del 1.º de Mayo de este año tuvieron ese sentido, aunque tímidamente, en Guanabara, Saatos y Santo André.

Lo esencial es fortalecer la organización de los trabajadores e intensificar sus luchas, porque sólo así conseguirán defender sus derechos e intereses. La Resolución Política de junio de 1966 del Comité Central fija la orientación general que debe seguirse. La actividad primordial de los comunistas —dice la Resolución— debe dirigirse en el sentido de orientar y desarrollar la unidad de acción de la clase obrera en la lucha por sus intereses, económicos y políticos inmediatos: en defensa del salario, del poder adquisitivo de los trabajadores, no sometidos a la política salarial de la dictadura y exigiendo reajustes salariales que acompañen, como mínimo, la elevación del costo de vida; en defensa de sus conquistas sociales, como la estabilidad en el empleo, por el restablecimiento de los derechos revocados, por la libertad sindical, por la realización de elecciones libres y el funcionamiento autónomo de los Sindicatos; por el derecho de huelga, creando condiciones para ejercerlo en la práctica, sin las restricciones prohibitivas impuestas por la dictadura. Es necesario partir de aquellas reivindicaciones que, incluso siendo las más elementales, puedan llevar a los obreros a movi-

lizarse, a unirse y a luchar. Y será a través de la unidad de acción en defensa de sus intereses vitales, de la experiencia de sus luchas, como los trabajadores avanzarán en el sentido de resistir, de oponerse y de combatir a la dictadura. Será también el camino por el cual nuestro Partido, como vanguardia, deberá conducirlos, a fin de que adquieran la conciencia de la justicia de las soluciones revolucionarias que propone y vengan a apoyarlas.

La Resolución de junio muestra, además, que el trabajo en los Sindicatos, cualesquiera que sean las condiciones, es de la mayor importancia para desarrollar y consolidar la unidad de acción de la clase obrera. Pero

## LA CLASE OBRERA CONMEMORA EL 1.º DE MAYO

A pesar del rigor y de todos los obstáculos impuestos por el gobierno y la policía, los trabajadores no dejaron de conmemorar, con espíritu de clase, la fecha del 1.º de Mayo. Cuando se hizo evidente que cualquier manifestación de la calle prohibida, la clase obrera organizó en todas las grandes ciudades actos públicos en locales cerrados e incluso en iglesias. Es interesante el hecho de que los propios sindicatos y las federaciones, bajo control oficial, no dejaron de incluir, presionados por las masas —como sucedió con la CNTI (Confederación Nacional de los Trabajadores de la Industria)—, algunas justas reivindicaciones obreras en sus declaraciones. En Río, 18 organizaciones sindicales habían organizado un acto público en la Asociación Brasileña de Prensa. Fue lanzado un manifiesto redactado por verdaderos representantes obreros, entre ellos algunos comunistas, en el cual figuraban las principales exigencias económicas y políticas de los trabajadores. Debido a las amenazas de la policía, algunos retrocedieron, pero no impidió la realización del acto público, en el que estuvieron presentes importantes fuerzas de la represión. Estos no respetaron ni siquiera una ceremonia religiosa organizada por obreros católicos en la iglesia principal de Río, la Iglesia de la Candelaria. En San Pablo, Santos y otras ciudades, los trabajadores, a pesar de la simplicidad de

destaca que, particularmente en las condiciones actuales, el movimiento sindical sólo tendrá base sólida si se apoya en la organización de los trabajadores en las empresas. Y la organización en las empresas posibilitará también incorporar a los trabajadores no sindicalizados en las luchas reivindicativas y contra la dictadura.

Aplicando esa Resolución, de acuerdo con las condiciones de cada lugar, será como los comunistas llevarán a los trabajadores a enfrentar la demagogia y la política del gobierno Costa e Silva, a desarrollar sus luchas, a intensificar la oposición y el combate contra el régimen fascizante y anti-obrero instituido por los golpistas de abril.

los actos públicos, dieron pruebas de firmeza y señalaron claramente sus reivindicaciones. En Belo Horizonte, capital del Estado de Minas Gerais, un dirigente obrero sin partido pudo hablar en público ante más de 8 mil trabajadores, en lenguaje digno de admiración.

Los comunistas participaron activamente en todas esas manifestaciones. Unos días antes, el Comité Central del Partido Comunista Brasileño lanzó una proclamación a los trabajadores, llamándolos a la unión "para defender sus derechos, sus intereses, la libertad y autonomía sindical contra el confiscamiento de los salarios, y para que no se sometieran a las restricciones que la dictadura pretende imponer." La proclamación de los comunistas, extensamente distribuida, terminaba con las siguientes palabras: "Trabajadores: Conmemoremos el día internacional del proletariado, con afán y confianza en el futuro. Los éxitos conquistados por los trabajadores en la lucha contra el imperalismo y la construcción del socialismo refuerzan nuestra propia lucha. El principal enemigo de la clase obrera y de los pueblos es el mismo en el mundo entero".

Las manifestaciones citadas prueban que la clase obrera y los trabajadores atendieron el llamamiento del Comité Central del Partido Comunista Brasileño.

## LOS ESTUDIANTES LUCHAN EN LA CALLE CONTRA LA DICTADURA Y EL IMPERIALISMO

En los dos últimos meses, millares y millares de estudiantes, principalmente universitarios, salieron por las calles en vigorosas manifestaciones contra el imperialismo norteamericano, contra la dictadura y por la solución de problemas específicos. En Ceará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Bahía, Río Grande del Sur, Paraná, Brasília, Minas Gerais, Estado de Río y principalmente en Guanabará y San Pablo, contando con el apoyo y simpatía de gran parte de la población, los estudiantes brasileños expresaron su inconformismo y su decisión de no permitir que el imperialismo yanqui y la dictadura sigan oprimiendo y explotando al pueblo y a la nación brasileña impunemente. Esas combativas manifestaciones estudiantiles han sido organizadas en torno a objetivos generales, de interés de todo el pueblo, en estrecha ligazón con objetivos específicos.

### *Acuerdos MEC-USAID.*

La denuncia de la creciente dominación del imperialismo norteamericano es centralizada en la exigencia de revocación de los acuerdos firmados por el Ministerio de Educación y el USAID, acuerdos que someten la educación de nuestra juventud y todo el sistema del país al control y a la orientación de "técnicos" de los Estados Unidos. En total, son 16 los acuerdos firmados entre el gobierno brasileño y aquella agencia del gobierno de los Estados Unidos. Estos acuerdos abarcan todos los aspectos esenciales de la educación de nuestro pueblo. Van desde la reestructuración completa del sistema de enseñanza universitaria a la enseñanza media, industrial y vocacional, a la enseñanza primaria y hasta la publicación de revistas, libros técnicos, científicos y didácticos. A través de una educación estructurada y realizada al modo y estilo norteamericano, el imperialismo desea conquistar las conciencias de nuestra juventud comenzando por los niños de nivel primario. Pero no sólo la juventud, sino también los adultos, pues los acuerdos se extienden a la TV y Radio educativo, cuyo radio de acción es mucho más profundo y cuya influencia ultrapasa los límites de la educación, dada directamente en las escuelas.

### *Contra la dictadura.*

Los estudiantes levantan, también, con la energía necesaria, la bandera de la lucha contra la dictadura. El establecimiento de un clima de libertad respecto a los derechos del ciudadano es condición básica para un desarrollo más rápido de las luchas de nuestro pueblo por su libertad. Pero ese clima de libertad no puede ser una dádiva de las clases dominantes. Es en la calle, en la acción de masas, donde el pueblo conquista y hace respetar sus derechos. La lucha por las libertades democráticas es el lazo de unión contra la dictadura.

### *Reivindicaciones específicas.*

Al lado de estas banderas políticas generales, los estudiantes levantan, de acuerdo con las condiciones de cada Estado, una serie de reivindicaciones específicas: la cuestión de las anualidades, de la federalización de los excedentes, de los restaurantes, estudiantiles, de los descuentos en los pasajes de los ómnibus, etc. Estas y otras reivindicaciones han representado una factor de movilización de grandes sectores de estudiantes que todavía no tienen una conciencia formada para las luchas por reivindicaciones políticas, que ultrapasan los estrechos límites de sus intereses inmediatos.

Esta es una cuestión de la mayor importancia. Sin combinarse acertadamente la lucha política general con la lucha por la conquista de reivindicaciones específicas, será imposible arrastrar a esas manifestaciones de calle a la mayoría de los estudiantes, y la vanguardia del movimiento corre el riesgo de quedar aislada y exponerse directamente a dos golpes del enemigo.

### *Terror de la dictadura.*

Todas esas manifestaciones de los estudiantes brasileños encontraron en frente la resistencia, la violencia y el terror policiaco de la dictadura. Costa e Silva, como su antecesor, usa los mismos "métodos de persuasión" contra aquéllos que discordan de su política antinacional y antipopular. En Brasília, en Minas Gerais, en San Pablo, en Río Grande del Sur, Ceará, Pernambuco,



Guánabara; en fin, donde quiera que los estudiantes salgan a la calle, la dictadura moviliza toda su máquina de represión y de terror para impedir la justa y patriótica protesta de nuestra juventud. Decenas de heridos, centenas de prisiones, represión violenta en masa. En mayor o menor medida, la sangre de nuestra juventud ha corrido en todas las capitales del país. Esta ha sido una lucha desigual. Multitudes de estudiantes, desarmados e indefesos, son masacrados sin piedad. Ya advertimos a los dirigentes estudiantiles en nuestro edi-

torial de octubre de 1966 sobre "la necesidad de ser tratada, con responsabilidad, la cuestión de la autodefensa de masas, pues de lo contrario los dirigentes estarán conduciendo a las masas a una lucha desigual con la dictadura, dejándolas indefesas a merced del terror sanginario de la dictadura". La autodefensa de las masas, dice la *Resolución de Junio*, "es necesaria para enfrentar la violencia de la represión policiaca y constituye importante factor de preparación de las masas para formas de lucha más elevadas, inclusive la lucha armada."

## NUESTRA SOLIDARIDAD

### A LOS GUERRILLEROS DE CAPARAO

En vísperas de la Conferencia de Punta del Este y pocos días después de la toma de posesión del nuevo agente de la dictadura, mariscal Costa e Silva, la Policía Militar del Estado de Minas Gerais, asesorada por oficiales yanquis, descubrió y detuvo un pequeño grupo de guerrilleros que actuaba en la Sierra de Caparaó. Eran doce o catorce patriotas, en su mayoría ex-militares, expulsados de las Fuerzas Armadas a consecuencia del golpe militar de abril de 1964. Toda una operación militar de envergadura fue montada por la dictadura. Millares de soldados de las Policías Militares de los Estados (Minas Gerais y Espírito Santo), del Ejército y de la Aeronáutica, se trasladaron para la llamada "región guerrillera", investigando palmo a palmo, extendiendo el terror en las haciendas y en los pueblecitos y ciudades de la región. Guerrilleros y "colaboracionistas" (éstos, acusados de ayudar directa o indirectamente a los guerrilleros), fueron maniatados con cuerdas y esposas, y en seguida expuestos a la "excreción pública", fotografiados y entrevistados por periódicos, radios y televisiones para, después, ser transportados como ganado para las mazmorras medievales de la Región Militar de Juiz de Fora, cuyos carceleros y jueces se hicieron famosos en estos tres años de dictadura.

Las garras terroristas y sanguinarias de la dictadura se extendieron también a algunos centros urbanos importantes, como Guanhara y San Pablo, a la caza de "colaboracionistas", prendiendo arbitraria y violentamente numerosos ciudadanos y conduciéndolos, en el silencio de la noche, para la ciudad de Juiz de Fora.

En la trama de la llamada "represión al movimiento guerrillero", la dictadura reveló, una vez más, toda su desfachatez, desacatando los mínimos derechos de los ciudadanos asegurados por la Constitución y pasando hasta por encima de las draconianas estipulaciones de la Ley de Seguridad, ambos instrumentos elaborados por ella misma e impuestos a la Nación.

En el interior de Espírito Santo y Minas Gerais, igual que en Guanhara y San Pablo, numerosos patriotas tuvieron sus hogares invadidos a altas horas de la noche por patrullas militares. Incluso un ex-sargento del Ejército, por el simple hecho de ser hermano de uno de los guerrilleros, fue arrancado por una patrulla de la cama del hospital donde se encontraba, como consecuencia de una operación quirúrgica delicada a que había sido sometido. Durante más de un mes, familias enteras ignoraron el paradero de sus familiares, completamente incomunicados. Sin contacto, incluso, con sus abogados, esos presos fueron sometidos a toda clase de torturas, físicas y mentales, interrogados día y noche, mantenidos aislados unos de otros, viviendo en el clima de terror y violencias más brutal y deshumano. Los nuevos inquisidores no vacilaron y hasta llegaron a asesinar friamente, como ya lo hicieron tantas veces en estos tres últimos años. Esto sucedió a uno de los guerrilleros, cuya muerte fue atribuida a un suicidio, según las autoridades responsables.

Esto es la dictadura. Dictadura con Castelo Branco o Costa e Silva. El cambio de nombres no hace diferencia, pues el régimen es el mismo. Sólo cambió el agente de ese régimen arbitrario, violento, terrorista, san-

guinaria y entreguista, impuesto a la Nación por el imperialismo norteamericano. Sean cuales fueren nuestras divergencias respecto a los métodos de acción de los guerrilleros de Caparao, es deber de todos los comunistas y patriotas realizar un intenso trabajo de solidaridad moral y material a las familias de esas nuevas víctimas de la dictadura. Es deber de todos los comunistas y de todos los democratas luchar

activamente por la libertad de esos patriotas, así como de todos los demás presos políticos que continúan en los calabozos de la dictadura reinante en el país. La lucha por las libertades democráticas, la lucha por la amnistía amplia para todos los presos y perseguidos políticos, está dentro de la lucha contra la propia dictadura y por su sustitución por un gobierno democrático.

## DEFENDER CUBA: DEBER DE TODOS LOS COMUNISTAS Y DEMOCRATAS

El gobierno títere de Venezuela vuelve a desarrollar intensa actividad diplomática junto a los gobiernos latinoamericanos, con vistas a la convocación de una reunión de la Organización de los Estados Americanos, para condenar y tomar medidas contra la pretendida intervención de Cuba en los asuntos internos de aquel país. Según declaraciones del Sr. Magalhães Pinto, ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de la dictadura, el gobierno brasileño está dispuesto a participar de la reunión propuesta y coordinada por el presidente Raúl Leoni.

La propuesta de Venezuela es una tentativa más del imperialismo norteamericano, con el objetivo de intensificar la agresión contra Cuba socialista y llegar, si fuerza posible, a la nueva agresión armada, ahora en forma de acción colectiva y con la cobertura de los gobiernos reaccionarios de los países de América Latina.

Con el pretexto de que ciudadanos cubanos participan de las acciones armadas que se desarrollan en el país, el gobierno Leoni intenta montar una nueva y vasta provocación contra la Revolución Cubana y el gobierno del primer país socialista de las Américas. Los objetivos de esa provocación pueden resumirse así:

1.º — Intensificar la agresión contra Cuba, dándole carácter colectivo, bajo la bandera de la OEA; 2.º — Dar un nuevo impulso en la creación de la FIP, fuerza de policía continental, que coordine las acciones armadas, en la llamada lucha «contra la subversión»; 3.º — Justificar la represión policíaca contra el pueblo venezolano, ayudando también a los demás gobiernos reaccionarios de América Latina en su represión a la lucha del pueblo por su libertad.

### Posición del Brasil

Las prisas con que el canciller Magalhães Pinto corrió para apoyar la propuesta del gobierno venezolano comienza a revelar en que consiste la llamada «política externa de soberanía y desarrollo, de cara a los intereses nacionales», proclamada por los «nuevos» representantes de la dictadura del 1.º de abril.

Cuba socialista es el mayor ejemplo en esta Continente de un país realmente independiente y soberano, y su gobierno es el que más legítimamente defiende los intereses nacionales del pueblo cubano. Es contra ese país y contra ese gobierno como el Sr. Magalhães Pinto continúa defendiendo, como su antecesor, la política impuesta por el imperialismo norteamericano de aislamiento, diplomático, de bloqueo económico y de presión política; sin que, en definitiva, se descarta la posibilidad de la «presión» armada.

Al mismo tiempo en que la dictadura del Brasil proclama su disposición de ampliar nuestras fronteras comerciales negociando con todos los países, continúa ignorando un mercado en continuo crecimiento como es el de Cuba, apto para consumir numerosos productos de nuestra pauta de exportación, simplemente porque así interesa a la política imperialista de los Estados Unidos. Los intereses del pueblo brasileño exigen que el gobierno, en lugar de aplaudir apresuradamente la propuesta intervencionista del gobierno de Venezuela, se niegue a participar de esa nueva falsa y no se haga eco de las nuevas medidas agresivas contra el bravo pueblo cubano.

### *La lucha en Venezuela*

Hace años que Venezuela fue transformada en antesala del imperialismo norteamericano, y sus llamados "gobiernos representativos" no dejaron de ser agentes descarados de los monopolios yanquis y de la política de la Casa Blanca. Contra ese estado de cosas, lucha el pueblo venezolano y en esa lucha ha contado y continuará contando, como todo pueblo que lucha por su libertad nacional, con la colaboración de ciudadanos de otros países. Esa es una tradición de la lucha revolucionaria de los pueblos de América Latina y de los pueblos de otros continentes. Hoy, la lucha contra el imperialismo norteamericano es una lucha que atañe muy de cerca a la vida y al futuro de todos los pueblos del Continente, muy particularmen-

te al pueblo cubano, primero en libertarse de la explotación y de la opresión que los Estados Unidos ejercen sobre todo nuestro hemisferio.

### *Solidaridad*

Ante esa nueva amenaza a la Revolución Cubana, es nuestro deber intensificar el movimiento de solidaridad a Cuba socialista, llevando a las calles la exigencia de nuestro pueblo en el sentido de que el gobierno del Brasil no se haga cómplice de la política agresiva del imperialismo yanqui, promueva el restablecimiento de relaciones diplomáticas entre Brasil y Cuba y desarrolle nuestras relaciones comerciales, culturales y deportivas con aquella nación del Caribe.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: October 30, 1967

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Solo is the code word used to refer to the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.

My memorandum 10/18/67 advised that CG 5824-S\* was to depart 10/19/67 on Solo Mission 24 to the Soviet Union. It noted the informant would attend the 11/7/67 celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the "Great October Revolution" in Moscow, as well as making contacts with various Soviet officials on Communist Party, USA, business.

Chicago has advised that on 10/29/67 CG 6653-S, the informant's wife, departed for the Soviet Union to assist CG 5824-S\* and to serve as companion to Elizabeth Hall, wife of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, pursuant to Gus Hall's instructions.

### ACTION:

For information. You will be kept advised of pertinent developments.

100-428091

RCP:cst  
(5)

EX 109

REC-23

100-428091-6563

6 NOV 2 1967

28  
67 NOV 6 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Conrad *Due*

DATE: October 30, 1967

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/30/67, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

### ACTION:

For information.

*C. R. Putnam*  
*S. R. Putnam*  
*2*

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

*HS*  
HS:ccb  
(7) *ccb*  
*Downing*

REC-23  
EX 109

100-428091-6564

6 NOV 2 1967

*28*  
67 NOV 6 1967

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/30/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On 10/27/67 there was received from the Soviets, via radio, a ciphered, partially coded message, the plain text of which was as follows:

"If no new circumstances appear, PAT (CG 6654-S\*) must leave for anniversary of October Revolution celebrations through Prague before other members of delegation to celebration leave. She should bring latest materials, books, and magazines. Please confirm reception.

CG 5824-S\*

The above is a request from CG 5824-S\* that his wife leave for Moscow before other members of the CP, USA delegation to the celebration do so, and that she go via Prague.

REC-23

100-428091-6565  
 3 - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B)  
 2 - New York  
 (1 - 134-91) (INV) (41)

ACB:gam  
(7)

NOV 2 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

NOV 6 1967

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 11/3/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On 11/2/67, there was received at a NYC mail drop maintained by NY 694-S\* a package from the CP of Canada, containing three documents, on one of which was a notation that the said documents should be delivered to the CPUSA.

The documents, Xeroxes of which are enclosed herewith for the Bureau, are written in French, and seem to have been prepared by the Communist Party of Greece as an attack upon the present Greek government.

It is requested that this material be translated at the Bureau, and that copies of said translation be furnished to the NYO.

LA-102

1 - 904, 920 w/ 1 encl.  
 (3) - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)  
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)  
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-52

100-428091-6566

ACB:msb  
 (6)

\* 2 Documents received  
 in S B L Annex.  
 Ltr to NY  
 w/ encls (3) (3 trans.)  
 TGM:msp  
 11/16/67  
 (part. subm.)  
 (FLM retained  
 until compl.  
 of trans.)

Ltr. to NY.  
 w/ encls (5)  
 (3 trans.)  
 2. FLM.  
 TGM:msp  
 11/21/67  
 (Final Port.)  
 (FLM ret'd  
 handwritten)

6 NOV 6 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

67 NOV 28 1967

DATE 03-09-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~SECRET~~

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
DATE: October 23, 19671 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. D. Ryan  
1 - Mr. R. C. PutnamTolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_~~TOP SECRET~~PURPOSE:

This memorandum recommends release of an article to news media regarding James Jackson, Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, International Affairs Commission. The proposed article speculates as to reasons why Jackson is departing for Moscow, USSR, ahead of the rest of the Party delegation to the 50th Anniversary of the "Great October Revolution." This will solidify Soviet-expressed opinion that Jackson is not a proper person to be contacting Soviet personnel.

BACKGROUND:

Solo is the code word used to describe the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world. For some time, we have been searching for appropriate measures to capitalize on Soviet distrust of Jackson for his open contacts with Soviet personnel at the Soviet Mission to the United Nations. Jackson has been expending great effort to become an official contact between the Soviets and the Communist Party, USA. If he succeeds, he will cut out some of the tasks performed by our informants. The Soviets have expressed displeasure at Jackson's efforts along this line. With this article, we could neutralize Jackson as a possible substitute for our Solo informants in official contacts with the Soviets.

Jackson is to depart for Moscow ahead of the rest of the Communist Party, USA, delegation to the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the "Great October Revolution."

Enclosures ~~10-25-67~~ REC-32

100-428091

RCP:cst

(7)

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONTINUED - OVER

6 NOV 7 1967

Classified by 7-15704  
Exempt from GDS, Category 243  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

79 NOV 14 1967

~~SECRET~~Document downgraded to Secret  
Per 60324 UC BAO/RS on 2/26/2004

Loggins



~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

~~TOP SECRET~~

The exact time of departure is unknown at this time. This provides us with an excellent opportunity to convince the Soviets that their fears regarding Jackson are justified.

Attached is a proposed article which goes directly to the heart of this matter. We propose to have the article released to appropriate sources at the New York "Daily News" through the Crime Records Division as soon as New York verifies Jackson's departure. Also attached is an airtel to New York instructing that the Bureau be immediately advised when Jackson departs so the article can be released while it is timely and to attempt to have Jackson photographed while boarding the plane to give additional impact to the release.

The proposed release identifies Jackson as the "Secretary of the Party's International Affairs Commission," in order not to show too intimate knowledge of the internal workings of the Party on the part of the press.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That this memorandum and attached article be routed to the Crime Records Division for release to appropriate sources at the New York "Daily News" as soon as New York verifies Jackson's departure.

*Handled with N.Y. News -  
Article scheduled to appear  
11/5/67 Huc*

2. The attached airtel be sent to New York instructing that the Bureau be immediately advised when Jackson departs and that an attempt to photograph Jackson boarding his plane should be made.

*no photograph  
Planned.  
per Huc.*

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 11/2/67

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub F)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS-C

Prior to his departure on the 24th Solo Mission, CG 5824-S\* purchased and sent to the Professor Sirinov drop in Moscow, USSR, the following publications:

Black Power: The Making of a Negro Ghetto	\$ 7.50
Pax Americana (2 copies)	13.90
Strategy for Labor (2 copies)	11.90
The Artillery of the Press	3.95
Facing the Brink	5.95
Total	\$43.20

On October 18, 1967, CG 5824-S\* reimbursed himself from Solo funds in this amount.

EX-115

REC-32

100-428091-6568

1-904, 9+D  
②-Bureau (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(3)

NOV 7 1967



79 NOV 14 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

## Memorandum

TO:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 11/2/67

FROM:

SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS-C

The NYO has discussed with NY 694-S\* the problem that would exist should GUS HALL, after banking hours on business days, or on a Saturday or Sunday, demand that a large sum of money be made immediately available to him. As the Bureau is aware, HALL believes that SOLO money is exclusively in the possession of personal depositories - that no money is kept in banks.

NY 694-S\* has agreed to the suggestion of the NYO that he always have under his personal control, and secreted in his own home, the sum of \$50,000.00, which he could deliver to HALL upon short notice. He has further agreed that, to effect this plan, the NYO install in his home a hidden safe, the specific type of safe and location thereof to be determined as the result of a survey of his home by the NYO.

UACB, the NYO will institute such a survey and determine the cost of installation of a hidden safe. The Bureau will then be advised, and will be requested to authorize installation.

EX-115

REC-32

- 1-904, 918
- 2 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago (134-46-SUB B) (AMRM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

100-428091-6569

6 NOV 7 1967

ACB:gmd  
(4)



9 NOV 14 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan